The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus

Translated with an introduction by
MICHAEL WHITBY



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Front cover: Symeon Stylites the Elder, redrawn from a silver-gilt plaque in the Louvre, late fifth century

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To Max, Brodie and Archie

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The volume is dedicated to our children, to Max and Brodie to show why the competing attractions of Playstation or Pokémon have had to be resisted on occasions, and to Archie who will doubtless be informed in due course about irregularities in the appearance of his bottle and will want to know the cause.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*.
ACO = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*.
BAR = British Archaeological Reports.
BEL = Evagrius, anon. translation in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library (see Sources under Evagrius).
BF = *Byzantinische Forschungen*.
BMGS = *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*.
Byz. = *Byzantion*.
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
CQ = *Classical Quarterly*.
CR = *Classical Review*.
CSCO Scr. Syri = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri.
CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
EHR = *English Historical Review*.
FHN = *Fontes Historiae Nubiarum*.
GCS = Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.
GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*.
JEH = *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*.
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
JRA = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*.
JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*.
JTS = *Journal of Theological Studies*.
LRE = *Later Roman Empire*.
MGH Auct. Ant. = Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi.
PG = *Patrologia Graeca*.
PL = *Patrologia Latina*.
PLRE II = J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II, A.D. 395–527* (Cambridge, 1980).
PLRE III = J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire III, A.D. 527–641* (Cambridge, 1992).

PO = *Patrologia Orientalis.*
RE = Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
REB = *Revue des Études Byzantines*.
ROC = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*.
TM = *Travaux et Mémoires*.
TTH = Translated Texts for Historians.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.

INTRODUCTION

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Evagrius was born in about AD 535 in the small city of Epiphania, located in the valley of the Orontes river in Syria II. This information, like almost all of our knowledge about Evagrius, has to be deduced from his own writings.[1] In his description of the Justinianic Plague (iv.29), he comments that he was composing the chapter in the 58th year of his life, when the plague had been prevalent for 52 years: counting inclusively from 542, when Evagrius records that the plague reached Antioch, this points to 593 as the year of composition,[2] and 535/6 as the probable date of birth. Thus he was approximately the same age as the future emperor Tiberius, and about 5 years older than the emperor Maurice.

The family must have been moderately well-off, at the least, since Evagrius received a prolonged and expensive education. He was already attending an elementary teacher in 540,[3] when the invasion of Khusro I devastated parts of his native province (iv.26). His parents were among the crowds that thronged to the nearby city of Apamea, 50 kilometres to the north, where the local bishop Thomas displayed the city's relic of the True Cross to reassure the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding area in their hour of peril. The young Evagrius accompanied his parents, but how much he remembered of his personal experience is uncertain, since there were aids to his memory: Procopius also recorded the event, and a picture survived in the church at Apamea down to 573.[4]

1 The information is collected in *PLRE* III. 452–3.

2 This accords well with the date at which Evagrius terminated his history, the 12th year of the emperor Maurice, i.e. 593/4 (vi.24), when he would have been in his 59th year.

3 Allen, *Evagrius* 1, speculates that Evagrius may use the phrase 'attending an elementary teacher' as a loose synonym for being a child, but this is partly because she is inclined to put his birth as late as 536/7. The accepted age for the start of schooling in the ancient world is seven (H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb, New York, 1964, 358–9), so that, if he was born in 535/6, Evagrius would only have been five in 540, but the evidence cited for the school-age is Quintilian and Juvenal and this western evidence may not reflect the practice in the Levant half a millennium later.

4 *Wars* ii.11.16–20; Evagrius iv.26.

Two years later, in 542, he caught the plague at its first visitation, being affected by bubonic swellings, but, like his historiographical predecessor from a millennium earlier, Thucydides, and the contemporary emperor Justinian, he was among the fortunate survivors. After learning the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic with the elementary teacher, Evagrius would have progressed at some point in the mid-540s to a grammarian for the next stage in his education, to study the language of classical Greek literature. This might have entailed a move away from Epiphania, and by about 550 he is likely to have been at Antioch to pursue rhetorical studies with a more specialist teacher. The final stage of his educational career will have taken Evagrius to Constantinople,[5] probably in the late 550s, for four years of legal study which led to his qualification as a *scholasticus*.[6]

Thereafter he returned to Antioch to pursue his legal career; like his cousin and fellow lawyer, John of Epiphania, he came to be attached to the service of Gregory, Patriarch of Antioch (570–92), and it is quite possible that he had always worked within the Patriarchate as a legal adviser. He was sufficiently prominent and reliable to be chosen to accompany Gregory to Constantinople in 588 to assist him rebut a charge of sexual misconduct (vi.7). In the recurrent attacks of the plague Evagrius lost a wife, daughter, grandson and other relatives, in addition to numerous servants and estate-dwellers. These misfortunes caused him considerable distress, particularly since the family of a prominent pagan acquaintance at Epiphania was not affected; Symeon Stylites the Younger observed these doubts, and admonished Evagrius for harbouring such thoughts which were displeasing to God, with the result that Evagrius hurried up the mountain on which the saint's column stood in order to receive his pardon.[7] Evagrius records another miracle which Symeon worked for the benefit of one of his secretaries, whose wife was having difficulties in producing milk for a new-born infant.

Naturally the successful lawyer was a man of considerable status and

5 Beirut, the other centre for legal education in the East, was severely damaged in the 551 earthquake and there is no evidence for any recovery; Rome was the third officially recognized place for legal studies, but there is no indication that Evagrius ever visited the West.

6 For legal education, see Jones, *LRE* 512–13, 999, and on Justinian's *Institutes*, the basic legal teaching text in the sixth century, Honoré, *Tribonian* ch.6.

7 Evagrius vi.23; *Life* of Symeon ch. 233, the only mention of Evagrius in a contemporary text.

property with good connections in the official hierarchy as well as the spiritual elite. When Evagrius remarried in 588, there were public celebrations in Antioch which were disrupted by the earthquake of 29 October (vi.8). He was privileged to see the head of Symeon Stylites the Elder at close quarters when it was being sent to the eastern armies to lend supernatural help (i.13). He was in a position to know the great and the good: he talked to the emperor Maurice's parents about the portents which had presaged the birth of the future emperor (v.21), and he was sufficiently friendly with Maurice's brother-in-law, Philippicus, to be concerned to protect his reputation from possible denigration (vi.3). He was granted the honorary rank of *quaestor* by Tiberius, and of prefect by Maurice, both in return for literary works (vi.24): he produced a collection of 'reports, letters, decrees, speeches, discussions and other similar matters', of which most had been issued in the name of Patriarch Gregory, and a work which celebrated the birth of Maurice's eldest son, Theodosius, in 584. These compositions would have been of considerable interest, at least for the purpose of identifying material that Evagrius recycled,[8] but they have not survived. As a result, Evagrius' reputation rests solely on his major work, the *Ecclesiastical History*, which records the history of the Church from the First Council of Ephesus in 431 down to Evagrius' own lifetime, the reign of Maurice.

EVAGRIUS' WORLD

The focus of Evagrius' world in the *History* is the city of Antioch, and above all the figure of its patriarch. Thus he reproduces from his major local source, the Antiochene chronicler John Malalas (John the *rhetor*), various reports of constructions at Antioch, and natural disasters which affected the city, but this is not straight transcription. With regard to the Psephium reconstructed by Memnon and the basilica built by Zoilus, both under Theodosius II, he remarks that there have been 'changes in the buildings due to diverse disasters' (i.18). The size of the southern extension to the city by Theodosius II could be assessed, since the remnants of the former wall could still be

8 For example, much of the description of portents and other panegyrical material about Maurice would have fitted well into the panegyric on Theodosius' birth; Cassius Dio was another historian who attracted the notice of the reigning emperor, Septimius Severus, with a work on portents (Dio 73.23.1–2), which he then reused in his main *History*.

traced (i.20).[9] The Tetrapylon erected by Mamianus during Zeno's reign had completely disappeared, while from his two elaborate basilicas only the name and resplendent flooring of Proconnesian marble survived to testify to their former glory, since various calamities had necessitated reconstructions in which no attention had been paid to their decoration (iii.28). He can also locate the monastery associated with Nestorius, known as the monastery of Euprepius and situated just outside the city walls (i.7). Evagrius is naturally well informed about the quake of 588 which disrupted his wedding, and he notes the destruction of much of the church of the Theotokos, the combined winter and summer baths, and the overturning of some of the battlements on the city wall – though the stones did not fall to the ground; on this occasion his most particular information is the fact that the dome of the Great Church had for some time, perhaps several decades, been tilted out of position, and required the support of wooden buttresses, whereas it now miraculously jumped back into its proper place (vi.8).

Evagrius' Antioch was a grand city, although it had to battle against a sequence of calamities.[10] One response was an intensification of the city's religious defences. As early as 459 the inhabitants of Antioch had objected to the emperor Leo's request for the corpse of Symeon Stylites the Elder, on the grounds that the city needed this protector (i.13), and after the fires and quakes of the 520s its name was changed to Theopolis, 'City of God' (iv.6). An outbreak of plague was only terminated when the body of the monk Thomas was transferred from the foreigners' cemetery at Daphne and given honourable burial within the city; his annual festival was still being magnificently celebrated in Evagrius' own lifetime (iv.35). The remains of the martyr Ignatius had been located in the former Temple of Fortune since the mid-fifth century, but his festival was upgraded by Patriarch Gregory (i.16). In this case the purpose of

9 By contrast, the statement that the bronze statue of Eudocia was 'preserved even to our time' (i.20) was probably contained in the original version of Malalas (cf. i. n. 175 below); this does not prove that the information was not also true for Evagrius, though such a prominent statue might have been looted by Khusro I in 540 (assuming that it had survived the earthquakes of the 520s). With regard to Antioch's walls, Evagrius was departing from Malalas' information.

10 There is a tendency to interpret the very meagre archaeological evidence for sixth-century Antioch as indicating a decline in the classical city: Downey, *Antioch* 559; more cautiously, Kennedy and Liebeschuetz, 'Antioch', who note that the only relevant evidence is that the main street was relaid in the sixth century with a slightly narrower roadway.

the revived festival may have been to enhance Gregory's own popularity as much as to protect the city.

Evagrius is quite candid about the various problems which Gregory experienced during his patriarchate. In 573, Gregory thought it advisable to abandon his city at the approach of a large contingent of Persian raiders, partly because the city's defences were in disrepair and partly because the populace was in rebellion through a desire for change; whether the new arrangements would have included a change of patriarch, perhaps a recall for the recently deposed Anastasius, is open to speculation, but Gregory felt insecure. During Tiberius' reign, Gregory was subjected to attacks when one of his associates, Anatolius, was implicated in pagan worship and a more general witch-hunt of pagans began (v.18), while in 587/8 the *comes Orientis* Asterius received extensive support from all sections of the population in a dispute with Gregory; an imperial delegate dispatched to investigate the ensuing disturbances was able to drum up an accusation of sexual misconduct against the patriarch (vi.7). Evagrius is an alert commentator on the fabric of, and social relations within, his city.

Outside Antioch, Evagrius is naturally most interested in, and best informed about, the affairs of his home province: for example he could record the time required for provincial bishops to assemble at Antioch (i.3 with n. 31). His home town of Epiphania is rarely mentioned, the only significant story being an anecdote, passed down through Evagrius' own family, that illustrates the gap which separated this provincial backwater from the great metropolis of Antioch: the senior deacon of Epiphania was so intimidated by the prospect of having to approach the grand patriarch Severus of Antioch, in order to deliver a letter of deposition, that he dressed up as a woman to carry out his mission (iii.34). The neighbouring metropolis of Apamea is more prominent. The miracle of the Holy Cross in 540 has already been noted, and in the same context Evagrius recorded the *bon mot* with which Bishop Thomas responded to a jibe by Khusro while watching the chariot races (iv.25–6). With regard to the capture of the city in 573, he introduces a comment on its former prosperity, analogous to his remarks on dilapidation at Antioch: he sees a world threatened by decay (v.10).

The famous saints of Syria are prominent.[11] The greatest

11 As Chadwick comments ('Moschus' 48), Evagrius' stories reflect the Syrian traditions of Antioch.

contemporary local saint was Symeon Stylites the Younger, whose familiarity with Evagrius has already been noted; it was Evagrius himself who transmitted to Patriarch Gregory the news of Symeon's terminal illness (vi.23). The habits of another Symeon, the Holy Fool of Emesa, are described at some length (iv.34), and his behaviour formed the basis for the general analysis of Holy Fools in the earlier excursus on monks and monasticism (i.21); two of Evagrius' stories concern Symeon's relations with women, while the third reveals his ability to predict natural disasters (the earthquake of 551). There is no sign, however, that Evagrius had ever met this Symeon.[12] The greatest saint of preceding generations was Symeon Stylites the Elder, and, in addition to including his personal observations on the remarkable state of preservation of Symeon's head (i.13), he also describes his experience of a miraculous apparition in the central octagon of the great ecclesiastical complex where the saint's column stood: a gleaming star moved across an opening into the northern basilica, a marvel which only occurred on the saint's feast day, when the shrine was thronged with men and their beasts of burden while the women were gathered outside the main southern door. Evagrius was happy to believe reliable witnesses who claimed to have seen the saint's head, bearded and hooded, flitting about the shrine (i.14).

Outside 'greater' Syria, Evagrius' detailed knowledge rapidly diminishes. He includes stories about three Palestinian saints, Zosimas, who miraculously saw the destruction of Antioch in 526, his associate John the Chozibite, and the grand old man Barsanuphius (iv.7, 33), but the heroes recorded by Cyril of Scythopolis are not mentioned. Considering the prominence of monastic leaders like Sabas in the defence of Chalcedon and opposition to Origenist doctrines, Evagrius' silence raises questions: he just may not have known about individuals who were famous in their own province, though this is unlikely since Gregory of Antioch had been a monastic leader in Palestine before his promotion to patriarch; it is possible that Evagrius disapproved of the confrontational approach which characterized the doctrinal debates of Sabas and others.[13] There is nothing in his text to indicate that he had ever visited Jerusalem, or any of the Holy Places. It is equally hard to

12 For discussion of the Holy Fool, see Krueger, *Symeon*.

13 See Stallman-Pacitti, *Cyril* ch. 5. See, for example, the hostile reaction of Cyriacus when questioned about the alleged harmlessness of theological speculation: *Life* of Cyriacus 12, pp. 229:24–230:10.

detect evidence for familiarity with the frontier provinces to the east of Syria. He describes the miraculous delivery in 542 of Sergiopolis, the desert cult centre for worship of Sergius, and two major donations which Khusro II sent there after his restoration, of which the first was dedicated by Patriarch Gregory in person, but there is no sign that he accompanied his employer to this remote location. Edessa also experienced a miraculous escape from Persian attack in 544 (iv.27), but Evagrius' knowledge of the city's topography is vague and he does not suggest that he had seen the site of Khusro's great siege mound; as for the tokens of Christ's guarantee of protection to Edessa, the letter to Abgar mentioned by Eusebius and Procopius, and the *acheiropoietos* image for which Evagrius is the earliest testimony, there is no indication that he had seen either. Evagrius reports the violent ecclesiastical disputes of Egypt in the fifth century via his sources, primarily Zachariah of Mitylene: Egypt is a place of Monophysite discord and disruption,[14] where a patriarch might even be murdered in church and his corpse subjected to public humiliation (ii.8), whereas comparable problems at Antioch are not highlighted.[15]

Moving west and north from Antioch, the land mass of Asia Minor is a blank area, with the single exception of the shrine of Thecla at Seleucia, where Zeno's dedications were still visible in Evagrius' own lifetime. Otherwise there is silence: the holy man Theodore of Sykeon was well placed to receive visits from travellers moving between Constantinople and the eastern frontier during the reigns of Tiberius and Maurice, but his deeds are not recounted by Evagrius. It is possible that Evagrius' gout-ridden patriarch had preferred to travel to the capital by sea when forced to defend himself in 587/8. Constantinople itself was known to Evagrius, since he had spent several years there as a student, and subsequently more time in the context of Gregory's trial. Knowledge gained on the latter occasion probably underlies his presentation of the impressive details of S. Sophia's construction (iv.31),[16] but other signs of eye-witness reporting are less definite. There is a long description of the site of the church of Euphemia at Chalcedon, and also of the

14 Cf. Allen, 'Use' 282–3, who observes that Theodoret regarded Egypt with disfavour, as the place of Pharoah and Arius.

15 Thus Evagrius does mention the murder of the pro-Chalcedonian patriarch, Stephen (iii.10), but with none of the details provided for the death of Proterius at Alexandria.

16 These describe the church after its rededication in 562, and so are subsequent to Evagrius' time as a student.

miraculous effusion of blood (ii.3), but much of the chapter is rhetorical generalization, especially the wonderful panorama from the site of the church; perhaps, though, the detail about the imperceptible climb up to the shrine, followed by the sudden view, can be pressed to indicate a personal visit, which would not be surprising. With regard to the Long Walls of Constantinople (iii.38), he offers specific but incorrect distances, and there is no detail to demonstrate personal observation.[17] Beyond Constantinople, in the Balkans and further west in Italy and Africa, Evagrius was completely at the mercy of his sources.[18]

THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY*

Composition

The precise motives and circumstances for the composition of the *History* are unknown, except that Evagrius concluded the work in the twelfth year of Maurice, i.e. 593/4 (vi.24). Evagrius does provide a traditional preface, in which he locates his narrative in the succession of Greek ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius and the Theodosian trio of Sozomen, Theodoret and Socrates,[19] and then states his desire to rescue subsequent events from oblivion: naturally he does not allude to the contribution of the Monophysite church historian, Zachariah of Mitylene, whose work provided Evagrius with much useful information on the reigns of Leo and Zeno. Basic questions, however, are still unanswered. We can surmise that the death of Patriarch Gregory in 592 was the event which prompted Evagrius to bring his narrative to a close: the concluding chapters present Gregory's international triumph in the dedication of Khusro's ex-voto offering at Resafa, his success in winning over Severan Monophysites, and his close attachment to the younger Symeon Stylites. It was convenient that the termination of the Persian War in 591 and the death of Symeon Stylites the Younger in 592 underscored the sense of closure.[20] How much earlier Evagrius had formulated the notion of composing the *History* is a matter for speculation, but it is

17 Both on Chalcedon and the Long Walls, Allen was confident that Evagrius' account displayed eye-witness knowledge (*Evagrius* 100, 143), but the verdict must be not-proven.

18 Cf. Chesnut, *Histories* 218, for the shrinking perspectives of writers.

19 Repeated at the start of Evagrius' historiographical survey: v.24.

20 John of Epiphania was inspired to compose the history of the twenty-year Persian war by the momentous events of 590/91.

possible that it had not been a long-term project. My reason for this suggestion is that Evagrius' account of the eastern campaigns in Maurice's reign is notoriously inaccurate, and his chronology of events after the resolution of the eastern mutiny in 589 intrudes an additional year into his narrative.[21] Part of the explanation for these errors lies in Evagrius' highly protective attitude to Maurice's general and brother-in-law, Philippicus, but the error might not have been so easily made if Evagrius had been concentrating for several years on historiography and the acquisition of relevant material; by the late 580s he may, perhaps, already have embarked on the narrative of doctrinal disputes which dominates his account of the fifth century, but not have considered the issue of what contemporary matters he would report.

In view of the centrality of Gregory of Antioch in Evagrius' life, and the prominent panegyric of him in the *History*, it is possible that Evagrius decided to compile his work because of Gregory's problems in 588: the opposition to Gregory embraced all sections of Antiochene society and it was the willingness of respectable people to support the hostility of the lower classes that was particularly dangerous.[22] Thus a work whose audience was confined to the educated elite would have great relevance. Gregory is portrayed as a worthy bishop of Antioch, on a par with his predecessor, Anastasius, who retained considerable popularity and influence after his deposition in 570 and was to return to his throne on Gregory's death,[23] while Evagrius' castigation of pagan intellectuals was perhaps prompted by the challenge to Gregory in Tiberius' reign. If he worked sequentially, and there is no evidence to suggest that he did not, the fact that the passage on the plague (iv.29) was written in 593 would indicate that he could compose over one quarter of the text in less than a year. Granted that most of the first four books of the *History* drew on existing written sources, and in some places transcribed collections of documents, a period of four or five years for the identification

21 The double-counting of Justin II's regnal years (v.23, with n. 82 below) is another, slightly earlier, major event which Evagrius did not note correctly. Evagrius, however, commits a number of chronological errors (see below), so not much weight can be placed on this argument.

22 Note that Evagrius reports Gregory's acquittal on the charge of sexual misconduct in the opening sentence of vi.7, before embarking on the detailed narrative, an arrangement which firmly establishes Gregory's innocence in the readers' minds.

23 Allen, *Evagrius* 28–30.

of material and composition of the complete work does not seem inappropriate.[24]

Sources

Ecclesiastical documents

Evagrius was described by Bury as 'a valuable source', though it is his preservation of some top-quality source material which has been identified as his greatest virtue;[25] even if this judgement belittles the interest of his own contributions, its positive aspect is valid. Ecclesiastical documents provided the basis for the main subject matter of his work. He made use of the *acta* of the Ecumenical Councils of First Ephesus, Chalcedon (which contained the *acta* of Second Ephesus) and Constantinople, and of the synod at Rome in 484 which marked the start of the Acacian schism. These major collections are well known, though on occasions Evagrius records the Greek text of material which is otherwise only preserved in Latin (Leo's Encyclical: ii.9). He also incorporated some major imperial pronouncements on doctrinal matters: the Encyclical and Counter-Encyclical of Basiliscus, the Henoticon of Zeno, and the attempted new Henoticon of Justin II. Again, these texts are known, though Justin's edict (v.4) is otherwise preserved only in Syriac, where one crucial sentence is omitted,[26] and Evagrius' text of Basiliscus' Encyclical (iii.4) represents an interesting stage in the doctrinal developments when pressure from Patriarch Acacius had forced the usurper to reinstate the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see.[27] Important evidence which is not recorded elsewhere includes extracts from the writings of Nestorius (i.7), and the letter of the Palestinian monks to Alcison of Nicopolis (ii.5, iii.31, 33). We are also indebted to Evagrius for the letters of Symeon

24 Relatively rapid composition might also explain Evagrius' failure to obtain a copy of Agathias' text, which was not apparently available in Antioch for him to read (v.24, with n. 89 below). He had the resources and contacts to have had a copy made in Constantinople, if he was sufficiently interested in the evidence and time had permitted. I have suggested a comparably short period of composition for Theophylact's *Historiae* (Whitby, *Maurice* 39–51).

25 Bury, *History* II. 182; Allen, *Evagrius* 6; in addition to the discussion of sources at *ibid.* 6–11, note also the introductory remarks to the survey of individual books: 72, 95–6, 119–20, 142–4, 171–2.

26 See v. n. 16 below.

27 See iii. n. 9 below.

Stylites the Elder to Basil of Antioch (ii.10), of the bishops of Asia to Acacius (iii.9), and of Peter Mongus to Acacius (iii.17), though the information contained in these is not of such significance. He refers to, but does not quote, letters of Severus of Antioch to Soterichus of Caesarea (iii.33), unspecified Antiochenes (iv.4), and Justinian and Theodora (iv.11), as well as to correspondence between Anthimus of Constantinople, Theodosius of Alexandria and Severus, which he chose to omit 'leaving them to those who wish to read them, lest I pile up a boundless mass in the present work' (iv.11, p. 161:12–14). The patriarchate of Antioch clearly possessed a reasonable collection of materials on doctrinal disputes. Evagrius exploited these quite carefully:[28] the organization and presentation of this ecclesiastical material represents Evagrius' major personal contribution to his *History*.

In addition to ecclesiastical documents, Evagrius also made use of earlier church histories. Although he claimed to be continuing the work of his Theodosian predecessors (Theodoret, Sozomen and Socrates), Evagrius' treatment of the beginnings of the Nestorian controversy overlapped with the last events narrated by Socrates. Evagrius, indeed, admits this and at one point corrects Socrates' presentation of First Ephesus (i.5). The Christological debate at First Ephesus was an essential preliminary to Second Ephesus and Chalcedon, so this minor repetition was sensible; in addition, Socrates had been rather benign in his presentation of Nestorius, whom he did not regard as strictly heretical.

Zachariah

Of greater importance is Zachariah *scholasticus*, whose *Ecclesiastical History* of the reigns of Marcian, Leo and Zeno (450–91) is now only preserved in a Syriac version (pseudo-Zachariah), which abbreviated the original Greek text but also continued it down to 569.[29] Evagrius was well aware of, and indeed draws attention to, the fact that Zachariah wrote from a committed Monophysite perspective (i.2; cf. iii.18), which Evagrius was concerned to refute: thus he argues, somewhat unconvincingly, that Nestorius could not have been summoned to the Council of Chalcedon, and, more usefully, includes the text of Basiliscus'

28 See Allen, *Evagrius* 113–18, for discussion of Evagrius' presentation of Chalcedon; also Whitby, 'Council'.

29 For discussion of the author, see the introduction to the translation by Hamilton and Brooks; also Allen, 'Zachariah'.

Counter-Encyclical which Zachariah had omitted.[30] Where Evagrius had supplementary information he introduced this to correct, or balance, Zachariah's presentation: with regard to the death of Proterius of Alexandria, Evagrius quotes at length from a letter of the Egyptian bishops and clergy, of which a Latin version survives in the *acta* of Chalcedon, after which he briefly notes Zachariah's alternative emphasis without comment;[31] on the deposition of Acacius, Evagrius bluntly states that Zachariah has related muddled hearsay (iii.18), and then proceeds to exploit the documentation from the Roman synod of 484 which he had discovered for himself. Once, however, Evagrius expresses a willingness to accept Zachariah's views, with regard to the bishops of Asia who successively petitioned Basiliscus and Acacius to contradictory ends, with solemn assertions first that their petition to Basiliscus was entirely voluntary and then that it was submitted under duress (iii.9).[32]

Pauline Allen suggested that the existence of Zachariah's anti-Chalcedonian narrative was one reason for Evagrius to compose an orthodox response. One Chalcedonian alternative had in fact been produced by Theodore Lector at the end of Anastasius' reign. There is no sign that Evagrius knew his work, though he would have found its virulent hostility to Anastasius uncongenial. Zachariah was a most convenient starting point, since he provided a structure to Evagrius' ecclesiastical narrative for the relevant period (Evagrius ii.1–iii.29);[33] furthermore, he preserved a number of useful documents. One minor indication of Evagrius' dependence on Zachariah is that, when he attempted to construct an episcopal succession for the early part of Justinian's reign, he made Epiphanius the successor rather than predecessor of Anthimus at Constantinople (iv.11); presumably the Antiochene records had the correct sequence, and it is probable that Evagrius was relying on his faulty memory since he repeats the error when dealing with the ante-

30 ii.2, p. 39:17, with ii n. 21 below; iii.7, p. 106:30. The third passage cited by Allen, *Evagrius* 8 n. 49, relates to Zosimus (iii.39, p. 139:4).

31 ii.8; Allen, *Evagrius* 9, suggests that Evagrius was prepared to acknowledge the veracity of Zachariah's version, and it is true that Evagrius does not explicitly contradict Zachariah; on the other hand, the relative length of the two presentations indicates where Evagrius' preference lies.

32 Evagrius also takes over, without comment, Zachariah's unfavourable depiction of the Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria, John Talaia, who is accorded a positive presentation in Theodore Lector.

33 *Evagrius* 9, 119–20; also 'Zachariah'. On Theodore Lector, see Whitby, 'Council'.

cedents to the Council of Constantinople (iv.36).[34] Because Zachariah only survives in an abridged state, it is difficult to assess the accuracy of Evagrius' use of his material: the different doctrinal standpoint necessitated some changes, but the citation of documents appears quite precise.[35]

Hagiographies

Other ecclesiastical information was provided to Evagrius by collections of hagiographical stories. With regard to Symeon Stylites the Elder (i.13), Evagrius referred to two accounts, one of them by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, but chose to narrate stories which were supplementary to the material available in print: 'it has been passed over by those who have written about him' (p. 22:10). His information about the saint's death indicates that he was familiar with a version similar to the anonymous Syriac *Life*.[36] Evagrius refers to a *Life* of Peter the Iberian with reference to the ordination of Timothy Aelurus (ii.8), and one of Severus of Antioch in connection with his early life (iii.33); Zachariah composed *Lives* of both these Monophysite heroes, and it is possible that Evagrius had access to a collection of his works. Evagrius' other stories of monks and miracles, of which most are located during the reigns of Justin I and Justinian, were probably derived from the extensive floating stock of such stories of which the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus represents no more than one anthology. Such collections might be assembled for a variety of reasons: the *Plerophories*, or *Proofs*, of John Rufus were compiled during the patriarchate of Severus of Antioch (512–18) to prove the iniquities of Chalcedon, a text with wider popular appeal than the patriarch's theological treatises.[37] Allen plausibly suggested that

34 Evagrius also wrongly recorded the papal succession in the 570s, but this error might reflect the problems in communications between West and East which appear to have increased after the death of Justinian.

35 Allen, *Evagrius* 125 (discussing the petition of the bishops of Asia to Basiliscus: iii.5) is less positive, but a precise assessment here is impossible since the text of the letter does not survive in full in pseudo-Zachariah: thus to criticize Evagrius' third citation from the letter (p. 105:6–15) as an abbreviation of the original is dangerous. There is no proof here that he is not quoting *verbatim*.

36 See i. n. 132 below. As an urban dweller and official employee, Evagrius could well have survived without knowing Syriac, in which case a Greek version of the Syriac life must have been available.

37 The *Plerophories* were originally composed in Greek but now survive only in Syriac translation; for discussion, see Frend, *Rise* 150–1; Whitby, 'Council'.

Patriarch Gregory could have been the direct source of Evagrius' knowledge, though his personal interest in portents and miracles should not be overlooked (e.g. iv.26–8; v.8, 21). A number of miracle stories originated in one of his major secular sources, Procopius, and the selection of this material from a much longer narrative reflects Evagrius' own careful focus on religious matters, even within the context of military affairs.

Eustathius

The most important secular source for the first half of Evagrius' work is Eustathius, another writer from Epiphania, whose *History* in two books extended from the Creation to the 12th year of Anastasius, 502/3 (v.24). Apart from a brief notice in the *Suda*, and a mention in Malalas that Eustathius died before he could complete his account of the Persian War of Anastasius,[38] Evagrius is our sole source of specific information about this author. Evagrius refers to him for the Persian wars of Theodosius II's reign (i.19), the early career of Zeno (ii.15), secular events of Zeno's reign (iii.24–27), a detailed chronological synchronism for the start of Anastasius' reign (iii.29), and the Persian siege of Amida (iii.37). It appears that Theophanes also used his account, or a derivative of it, since his narrative of various conspiracies against Zeno is parallel to information which Evagrius explicitly ascribed to Eustathius;[39] there is probably more Eustathian material lurking behind Theophanes' treatment of the fifth century. Just as Evagrius borrowed a detailed chronological calculation from Eustathius, so he probably lifted from him most of the superficially impressive list of historians which concludes the fifth book (v.24). There is no evidence that Evagrius had read any of the secular authors in the sequence from Charax to Asinius Quadratus – and whether Eustathius himself had actually done so either is beyond the bounds of speculation.

Zosimus and Priscus

The last two historians in this Eustathian list are Zosimus and Priscus of Panium. Both would have provided important information, and could

38 Malalas 399:3–5, which confirms Evagrius' statement at iii.37.

39 Theophanes 126:10–131:17; Allen, *Evagrius* 139. Some of Theophanes' material is also parallel to information which Nicephorus Callistus attributed to Eustathius; see Mango and Scott, *Theophanes* 202 n. 11.

have formed the basis of Eustathius' narrative from the mid-third century down to the 470s and his own lifetime. It is likely, however, that Evagrius also read both authors for himself, though there is no conclusive proof.[40] Zosimus receives an extended, if somewhat tendentious, refutation (iii.40–1), which might have been stimulated indirectly if Eustathius had reported Zosimus' attacks on Constantine in detail, but the subject was important for Evagrius and it would be surprising if he had not himself made an effort to investigate fully the points at issue. Priscus is cited five times by Evagrius, for information on the Huns (i.17), the origins of Marcian (ii.1), rioting in Alexandria (ii.5), a natural disaster (ii.14), and Leo's expedition against the Vandals (ii.16).[41] Evagrius praises his comprehensive record, exceptional learning, elegant style and accuracy (i.17; ii.16). Eustathius may have mentioned all of these events, but Evagrius intends to convey the impression of first-hand acquaintance with Priscus, which is not implausible.[42]

Malalas

Antioch, as has been stated above, was the focus of Evagrius' world, and for information on its history before his own lifetime he naturally turned to the main local chronicler, John Malalas (John the *rhetor*); Malalas, however, is not included in the list of historiographical predecessors, presumably because he was not the right sort of author. Evagrius refers to him for the translation of the relics of Ignatius (i.16), the earthquake of 458 (ii.12), the death of Patriarch Stephen (iii.10), the constructions of Mamianus (iii.27), and the great quake of 526 (iv.5). Evagrius praises his careful record and moving narrative of the two quakes (ii.12; iv.5), and explicitly comments on the terminus of the text, as he does for Eustathius.[43] He was not aware of the continuation of Malalas which covered the whole of the reign of Justinian, but this extension had a

40 Allen, *Evagrius* 8, 239–40.

41 For the full collection of the fragments of Priscus, together with passages that can plausibly be ascribed to him, see Blockley, *Historians* II.

42 Evagrius notes when Eustathius had abbreviated information which was recorded by other writers (i.19); though these are not named, Priscus is the most likely candidate at this point, but Evagrius gives prominence to the source on which he was actually relying and so here mentions Eustathius rather than Priscus (or anyone else).

43 For discussion of the terminus, see iv.5, n. 13 below.

Constantinopolitan focus and most of it was probably composed by a different author who was resident in the capital.[44]

Procopius

For the secular authors discussed so far it is difficult to assess the nature of Evagrius' exploitation of his sources: Eustathius does not survive, Priscus only exists in fragments and there is no independent confirmation for any of the material which Evagrius claims to have derived from him, Zosimus is cited only to be refuted, while our text of Malalas is no more than an epitome of the original.[45] It is different, however, in the case of Procopius' *Wars*, the last of Evagrius' major sources to be considered, since here the original survives and the exploitation is extensive, embracing both direct quotation and more selective summary. There is a stray reference to Procopius in the context of Marcian's dealings with the Vandals, where he is cited as proof of a non-aggression pact (ii.1), but otherwise citations are located in the central section of book iv (iv.12–27), which was largely based on his writings. Evagrius compliments him on his care, emotional description, elegance, eloquence and exceptional clarity (iv.12, 13, 19).

Evagrius' technique in using Procopius has been criticized, with allegations of confusing combinations of *verbatim* quotation and paraphrase, and unsignalled switches from Procopius to other sources.[46] Closer attention to the details of how Evagrius presents his Procopian material, however, goes a long way to exonerating him, although it is only easy to identify the mechanics of his composition by comparing his text with the extant source. Evagrius begins with a paraphrase of *Wars* i, and then the overtures to the Vandal expedition (iv.12–14). In the next chapter the switch is signalled to a long *verbatim* quotation of the marvellous behaviour of Cabaon the Moor, whose heathen followers restored Christian shrines desecrated by the Vandal army; there are only minor variations from Procopius' text, with the single exception of Procopius'

44 Whitby, review of Jeffreys, *Studies*, *CR* 41, 1991, 325–7; much greater continuity is urged by Croke in Jeffreys, *Studies* 17–25.

45 In ii.12 there are discrepancies between Evagrius and Malalas over the numbering and dating of various Antiochene earthquakes (see further ii nn. 132–3 below), and Evagrius' incorrect date for the 526 quake may reflect a misunderstanding by him of a dating formula in his source (see iv n. 12 below).

46 Allen, *Evagrius* 10, 185–7.

description of the Moorish battle array (*Wars* iii.8.25–8), which is entirely omitted. It would be special pleading to explain this through scribal error in the process of the transmission of Evagrius' *History*, and it is unnecessary to do so, since immediately after the omitted passage Evagrius includes a resumptive 'as he says' (p. 165:24); for the vigilant, armed with the text of Procopius, this can be taken as an admission of a slight gap. In the following chapter (iv.16), Evagrius erroneously attributes to Justinian a vision which, according to Procopius, was seen by a bishop. He then clearly marks the start of a *verbatim* quotation, again quite accurate, about the martyr Cyprian; the concluding analysis of the prediction of the overthrow of the Vandals reverts to a paraphrase, though this is not signalled – the only indication is in the somewhat impersonal tone in which the vindication of the prophecy is analysed, but the shift requires inside knowledge to detect. The following chapter (iv.17) deals with Belisarius' Vandal triumph, in part a paraphrase of Procopius,[47] though in the middle Evagrius indicates that he is alluding to his own account of the Vandal sack of Rome in 455 (ii.7) before reverting clearly to Procopius. The last of the Vandal chapters (iv.18) again combines Procopius with other material: in the Procopian section, Evagrius incorrectly asserts that Procopius claimed to have read an inscription that recorded the flight of the Moors from Palestine; he then reveals the end of his reliance on Procopius' Vandal narrative by introducing the section on Justinian's constructions in Africa with 'Justinian is said . . .' (p. 168:23–4).[48]

Next he moves to Procopius' account of the Gothic Wars, paraphrasing the background and early stages very briefly (iv.19): there are two errors, with Amalsuintha being described as wife of Theoderic and excessive emphasis placed on the youth of Atalarich. Evagrius then becomes even more selective in his use of Procopius, with accounts of the Christianization of various tribal groups (iv.20, 22–3) and a perfunctory version of Belisarius' success in terminating the first phase of the Gothic War (iv.21); information about Gothic incursions into the empire is transposed from the fifth century to the reign of Justinian (iv.23). In the next chapter he notes the conclusion of the Gothic War,

47 Allen, *Evagrius* 186, states that it purports to be a *verbatim* report, but this is incorrect.

48 This material was not derived from Procopius' *Buildings*, a work of which Evagrius shows no knowledge.

following Procopius, and then clearly turns to different sources for a description of the piety of the victorious general, Narses: ‘Now those who accompanied Narses say that . . .’ (iv.24, p. 171:13–14).[49] Over three books of Procopius about these Italian campaigns have been reduced to two-and-a-half pages of Evagrius’ text.

Evagrius switches to *Wars* ii for a summary of Khusro’s invasion of the eastern provinces in 540, with no indication that he is leaping back in time by more than a decade (iv.25); here he interweaves some of his own information on the behaviour of the bishops Ephrem of Antioch and Thomas of Apamea, with the change of source revealed by the introductory ‘He is said . . .’, and ‘And they say . . .’ (iv.25, p. 172:13, 27). The miracle of the Holy Cross at Apamea, though reported by Procopius (*Wars* ii.11.16–20), is introduced as Evagrius’ own contribution, since he had personally witnessed the event (iv.26). The last of the Procopian chapters deals with Khusro’s attack on Edessa (iv.27), where Procopius provides much of the information, though not the account of the intervention of the *acheiropoietos* icon. Evagrius fails to make clear that the Persians had attacked Edessa twice, in 540 (which he ignores) and then in 544. His introduction to the narrative of the 544 siege, ‘But I will tell you what happened’ (p. 174:19), might suggest that he has something to say which is slightly different from Procopius, but his account opens with the Persian siege mound as described by Procopius; the *acheiropoietos* miracle is then inserted, quite smoothly, at the point where Procopius describes the defenders’ problems with igniting the material in their mine. Evagrius’ paraphrase excludes many elements of Procopius’ account of the siege in order to focus on the destruction of the mound, and even in this section, in his eagerness to highlight the contribution of the icon, he is less than clear about what the defenders did in order to prepare the firing of the mound. Thereafter Evagrius does narrate other incidents covered by Procopius – the attack on Sergiopolis in 542 and the Great Plague (iv.28–9) – but without noting that Procopius had described the events or suggesting that he was using Procopian information. In each case Evagrius had his own story to tell.

To summarize this analysis of Evagrius’ use of Procopius, in most instances his switching of sources is sufficiently mechanical to be clear, as is the transition from *verbatim* quotation to paraphrase, though there are exceptions to each. Minor errors intrude, which a more attentive

49 Allen, *Evagrius* 186, strangely asserts that there is no indication of the change.

reading of his source might have avoided, but basic information is provided with moderate accuracy. Allen claimed that Evagrius' motive for exploiting Procopius was an interest in military affairs and a belief that he was heir to the secular historiographical tradition represented by Procopius,[50] but these interlinked assertions are not proven. While utilizing Procopius, Evagrius in fact created an entirely different type of narrative in which military detail is reduced to a minimum, or even eliminated as in the chapter on Cabaon the Moor, whereas attention is focused on miracles, conversions and other elements which have a pronounced Christian content. Evagrius used Procopius, in the same way as he exploited stories of contemporary holy men, to demonstrate that Justinian's reign was a period when God showed his favour to the empire, regardless of the doubts that people might have had about the quality and character of the emperor himself. This total reshaping of Procopius allowed Evagrius to overcome a basic problem in the Procopian account of Justinianic campaigning, where there is an increasing decline from the great successes of the first decade to the eastern reverses and protracted slog in Italy during the 540s. Faced by the capture of Antioch in 540, Procopius had despairingly expressed his incomprehension at how God could allow such a disaster to occur (*Wars* ii.10.4). To this Evagrius provided an answer by demonstrating the regularity with which God helped the Romans to victory – in Africa, as Procopius himself recorded, in Italy where Evagrius can add information about the special relationship which the pious Narses enjoyed with the Virgin Mary, and even in the East where the Procopian narrative of Khusro's successes in the period 540–4 is offset by attention to three occasions when the Christian God contributed to his discomfiture.[51] This is providential history, not a military narrative in the secular tradition.

Arrangement of material

Availability of material had a significant impact on Evagrius' organization of his material, since he tended to insert information in blocks: in the first three books, ecclesiastical and secular events are narrated in

50 *Evagrius* 171.

51 Roman set-backs tend to be reported quite briefly, e.g. the loss of Amida in 502/3 (iii.37), and Evagrius may also draw attention to the duplicity or treachery of those involved, e.g. with regard to the loss of Apamea and Dara (v.10).

separate sequences, with precedence given to the ecclesiastical. In Book i, material on Councils, heretics and saints, assembled from various documentary and hagiographical sources, as well as some personal information, is followed by secular notices on wars, natural disasters, Antiochene affairs and the imperial family, of which much can be traced back to Priscus and Malalas (i.17–20). Evagrius' lack of certainty about the time-scale is shown by his descriptions of the prominent Christians, Isidore and Synesius (i.15) and the poets, Claudian and Cyrus (i.19), of whom only the last in fact flourished during the period covered by the *History*. The pattern continues. Book ii begins with a character analysis of the new emperor, a practice adopted for most subsequent rulers (Leo and Justin I are exceptions), but then the account of Marcian's reign opens with Chalcedon and its immediate consequences, followed by two chapters on natural disasters and the western imperial succession (ii.6–7). For Leo's reign, material on the ecclesiastical problems associated with Timothy Aelurus at Alexandria is again followed by natural disasters and imperial affairs, East and West (ii.12–17): Zachariah is largely responsible for the former, Malalas for the latter. Zeno's reign is slightly more complex, in that the usurpation of Basiliscus had to be narrated in order to introduce the doctrinal reversals of his brief rule, but the narrative then proceeds with Zeno's Henoticon, episcopal troubles in Alexandria and the Acacian schism. This is largely drawn from Zachariah, but then the narrative has to jump back a decade to follow Eustathius' account of the internal problems which plagued the unsuitable Zeno, and then Malalas on some buildings at Antioch (iii.24–8). Anastasius' reign is neatly divided, almost, into ecclesiastical events (iii.30–4) and then secular (iii.35–43), with the latter based largely on Malalas, though with Evagrius' own contribution in the form of the harangue against Zosimus on the topic of the Chrysargyron. The final chapter reverts to religious rioting in Constantinople (iii.44), though much of its information came from Malalas, which explains the attachment of the account to the secular narrative.

In Book iv, Procopius becomes the basic source. Evagrius presented the First Persian War culminating in the Nika Riot (Procopius, *Wars* i), then the Vandal campaign (*Wars* iii–iv), and thereafter Italy (*Wars* v–viii) in correct chronological sequence, but the Second Persian War (*Wars* ii) is simply tacked onto the report of the final defeat of the Goths, a jump back of over a decade. In Book iv, direct quotation from Procopius succeeds the citation of doctrinal documents and Conciliar

acta in the earlier books, though the Procopian material is carefully chosen so that the religious focus of the narrative is preserved. However, Evagrius' treatment of Justinian's complex theological initiatives is incomplete, and the Fifth Ecumenical Council, the Origenist dispute and the Aphthartodocete initiative are relegated to the end of the Book, the location for diverse secular material in Books i–iii. This may reflect Evagrius' distaste for Justinian, which perhaps discouraged him from attempting to assemble relevant material and unravel the connections between the various moves; alternatively, the lack of an existing narrative to provide a structure may have been too great a handicap.

For his adult lifetime, the events covered in Books v and vi, Evagrius had even less guidance. He knew that his cousin, John of Epiphania, was producing a narrative of the Persian war of 572–91 (v.24) and this may have influenced his arrangement, but it did not provide much material since eastern military matters are not reported in great detail: his narrative of the momentous flight of Khusro II to the Romans (vi.17–21) devotes far more attention to the actions of bishops, holy women and saints than to the events themselves. The character of leading contemporaries, the emperors Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice, and the two patriarchs of Antioch, Anastasius and Gregory, became Evagrius' most prominent concern.

Evagrius' approach to structuring his narrative had the considerable advantage that it evaded whatever problems might have been caused by the difficulties of combining several sources into a single account. Chronological accuracy was not one of Evagrius' strengths,[52] and he made serious errors in narrating the events of his own lifetime, even of the very recent past when he was responsible for the collection and organization of his information.[53] Also, he was not particularly concerned about the details of military affairs, even on the eastern frontier where they would most directly affect his world. The only exceptions are when

52 Allen, *Evagrius* 15–16, and see below.

53 In Books v and vi, Evagrius exploited some documents (e.g. Justin's edict; Khusro's dedications), but there is no evidence that he was aware of, or had access to, Menander Protector's *History*, and there are sufficient differences between Evagrius and Theophylact in the presentation of the military narrative of the 570s and 580s to suggest that Evagrius, unlike Theophylact, did not base his account on the contemporary narrative of his cousin, John of Epiphania: for discussion, see Whitby, *Maurice* 244–5, and for the opposite view, Allen, *Evagrius* 10–11, Olajos, *Théophylacte* 95.

events could be given a Christian slant, for example the Persian attacks on Apamea, Edessa and Sergiopolis (iv.26–8), or concerned one of his favoured actors, for example Maurice or Philippicus.[54] His focus, however, is often on specific incidents rather than on an overall sequence. Evagrius' problems were compounded by the fact that some of his sources were themselves very imprecise about chronology: not much can be deduced about the clarity of the lost works of Priscus and Eustathius, but Malalas' coverage of the fifth century was short of specific dates and caused problems to other writers, for example the author of the *Paschal Chronicle*, who tried to place individual notices in specific years.[55]

The conclusions of this examination of Evagrius' sources, and his exploitation of them, are mixed: he preserves evidence that does not survive elsewhere, notably ecclesiastical documents such as the letter to Alcison but also secular material from Malalas and Eustathius. He is capable of transcribing a source quite accurately, though not all his *verbatim* quotations are precise. Equally, he introduces errors, especially when attempting to summarize briefly a much longer narrative. He emerges as a compiler who worked with blocks of information, though he can shape these to fit in with his own historiographical concerns and illustrate his judgements, as with the Procopian material; where he has relevant personal information he is ready to add that to his sources, whether it is an anti-pagan harangue or stories from his youth.

Ecclesiastical matters

Doctrinal issues

Evagrius' narrative is dominated by two primary concerns: the doctrinal controversy initiated by Nestorius (patriarch of Constantinople 428–31) whose consequences were still disrupting the Church during Evagrius'

54 Thus I do not believe the suggestion of Elizabeth Fowden, *Plain* 135–6, that Evagrius closed his account with items which show how he 'focuses on important participants in the political life of the frontier zone: Arab allies, Christian leaders, both Chalcedonian and oppositional, and miracle-working saints'. The relevance of this material to frontier politics is apparent to us, but from Evagrius' perspective it was probably more significant that the narrative reflects traditional concerns of ecclesiastical historians – saints, conversions, shrines and dedications – and that his patron Gregory was personally involved in most of the events.

55 See Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon* xviii, 80 n. 262.

life; and the providential history of the Christian empire (see below, 'Evagrius as historian'). Ecclesiastical matters take precedence. The first chapter of the whole work sets the scene, with the Church delivered from the pagan challenge of Julian and the heretical disruption of Arius but then ambushed by the Devil, who devised the variation of a single letter in order to prevent Christian unanimity.[56] Nestorius wished to exclude the notion that the divinity had suffered in the person of Christ, but chose to present his argument through the formula that the God in Christ did not suffer; he also objected to the increasingly popular title for the Virgin Mary of Theotokos, Mother of God. His arguments, which were interpreted by opponents as denying the unity of Christ, led to contentious and often violent discussions at First and Second Ephesus (the Councils of 431 and 449) and then Chalcedon (451). These Councils resulted in doctrinal definitions that sought to include as much of the Eastern Church as possible, by incorporating the attention to the full humanity of Christ (the hallmark of Antiochene theologians), while giving equal emphasis to the unity of divinity and humanity in Christ (the position characteristic of theologians associated with Alexandria).

At the root of the dispute lay complex problems of language and meaning, as theologians attempted to comprehend the divine mystery of the Trinity. The resolution of the Arian controversy in the fourth century had enshrined the unity of Christ as God-man through acceptance of the Nicene Creed; this had asserted the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father (and, ultimately, the consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity), thus making it clear that the Son, incarnate in the God-man, is as fully God as the Father. One formula for resolving the issue of Trinitarian unity was three *hypostases* in one *ousia*, with *hypostasis* being used to express the distinct reality of the persons of the Trinity in the one God; however, in discussion of the incarnation, *hypostasis* could be applied more loosely to the God-man produced by the union of human and divine in Christ, which complicated this solution.[57] In the fifth century, Christological discussion focused on the manner of

56 This refers to the difference between the Chalcedonian 'in two natures' (ἐν) and the Monophysite 'from two natures' (ἐκ) formulae: cf. i.1, with nn. 12–13, and ii.5, with n. 84 below.

57 Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2. 505–6; J. T. Leinhard, '*Ousia* and *Hypostasis*: The Cappadocian Settlement and the Theology of "One *Hypostasis*"', in Davis, *Trinity* 99–121.

the union of the acknowledged elements in Christ, on the relationship between his full manhood and full Godhead. Nestorius urged that the unity and distinction of Christ should be sought on different levels, unity at the level of the person (*prosopon*) distinction in his two natures (*physeis*), an approach which respected the Antiochene emphasis on the equal weight which the two aspects of Christ (human and divine) required. By contrast, Cyril of Alexandria (patriarch 412–44) concentrated on the unity of the composite being of Christ by emphasizing, in line with the Alexandrian tradition, Christ the Word (*logos*): his phrase, the one nature (*mia physis*) of the Word made flesh, underlined the fact of unity by treating *physis* as almost a synonym for *hypostasis* but did not tackle the character of the union. Each approach had its problems: Nestorius' different levels appeared to threaten the unity of Christ, whereas Cyril's formulation did not clearly exclude the Apollinarian heresy, which pressed the analogy of a human body and its soul for the construction of Christ so far as to exclude from Christ the presence of a human soul.[58] This very difficult theological debate was exacerbated by the long-standing rivalries between the major sees in the Eastern Church, particularly between Alexandria and Constantinople, so that the potential for rational reconciliation about approaches to a shared goal was reduced.

At Chalcedon the coherence of a Christological definition which could have achieved compromise between Antiochene and Alexandrian traditions was threatened by the need to accommodate the doctrinal position of Pope Leo to that of the greatest eastern opponent of Nestorius, the recently-deceased Cyril of Alexandria. Matters were greatly complicated by the involvement of the pope, and the importance for notions of papal supremacy of the validation of the Tome of Leo, a letter sent to Patriarch Flavian in June 449 to counter the heresy of Eutyches in which Leo proclaimed Christ as one person in whom there are two natures, divine and human, permanently united without being confused or mixed.[59] The insistence of the papal legates on including the language of Leo's Tome, whose clarity and precision might appear to pass over the nuances of debate in the East, in the Chalcedonian Formula seemed to many in the East to amount to a betrayal of Cyril's theology, and led to a division in the East between those who accepted

58 Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2. 503–10.

59 *ACO* II.ii.1, no. 5 (Latin text); *ACO* II.i.1, no. 11 (Greek).

Chalcedon as affirming Cyril and those, the Monophysites, who regarded it as a betrayal of Cyril. A further complication for the Eastern Church was that Cyril's own Christological views were not entirely consistent, or rather had been redefined on various occasions during his long patriarchate, so that it was possible to point to statements of his which both coincided and disagreed with the phraseology of Chalcedon. However, both sides in the East were unhappy with the interpretation of the West, which regarded Chalcedon as confirmation of the teaching of Pope Leo and any quibbles as a challenge to the sufficiency of papal exposition.

In Evagrius' lifetime, official ecclesiastical policy was dominated by the stance sometimes known as neo-Chalcedonianism: this represented a determined attempt to interpret the Formula of Chalcedon in the light of Cyril's teaching, especially through the incorporation of his Twelve Anathemas which had not been recognized at the Council,[60] and so maintain the major decisions of Chalcedon by weakening Monophysite objections.[61] This underpinned the efforts at reconciliation launched by Justinian and Justin II, and also reflected the views of the patriarchs Anastasius and Gregory of Antioch: in his sermon 'On the Baptism of Christ', Gregory urged his congregation to abandon the destructive civil war that was destroying the Christian community and to refrain from a precise 'weights and measures' approach to doctrinal discussions.[62] Not surprisingly, Evagrius shared this eirenic approach to the contentious issue. His presentation of the background to the dispute emphasizes the Devil's initiative in destroying harmony by securing disagreement about a single letter (i.1), and his views are clarified in the discussion of the aftermath of Chalcedon (ii.5), where he argues that the opposing formulae of Christ in (*en*) two natures and Christ from (*ek*) two natures are mutually inductive – by confessing the one, the believer necessarily

60 The Twelve Anathemas, or Chapters, constituted a list of twelve heretical positions which Cyril had appended to his third letter to Nestorius (*ACO* I.i.1, no. 6; cf. i.5, with nn. 40, 42 below); the orthodoxy of some of Cyril's assertions was not above question, but they were eventually ratified at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553.

61 Hence, Cyrilline Chalcedonianism is an alternative and more precise term for neo-Chalcedonians, which would exclude those revisionists who went so far as to employ both the major Christological formulae. Allen, *Evagrius* ch. 2, provides a clear and concise exposition of the complex position; see also *ead.* 'Neo-Chalcedonianism'; Frend, *Rise* 275–82; Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2. 429–34; and, more generally, Herrin, *Formation* 183–5.

62 *On the Baptism of Christ* 9–10.

confesses the other. The gap is small, but as Evagrius despondently concludes, mankind is sufficiently stubborn to refuse to accept this fact, and to scorn every form of death rather than move to approval of the reality.

Evagrius' approach

This conciliatory attitude shaped Evagrius' presentation of the Church Councils which had defined the issues under debate, and of the emperors who enforced or adapted these decisions. First Ephesus (AD 431), the first major event covered by the *History* (i.3–6), is treated in such a way as to be favourable towards both Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch. As a result, issues such as Cyril's blatant manipulation of the date of the Council, the violence in Ephesus which was marshalled by Cyril and the local bishop Memnon, and the arguments which rumbled on for a couple of years after the Council, are sidestepped. Second Ephesus (AD 449) is treated more briefly (i.9–10), and the violence for which it became notorious is not prominent; attention is focused on Eutyches, a prominent Constantinopolitan monk, whose vehement opposition to Nestorian views verged on Apollinarianism, and blame is subsequently attached to the eunuch Chrysaphius for the mistakes (ii.2). Theodosius II could have been criticized for supporting both Nestorius and Eutyches at different times, but his pious reputation is not challenged.

In the presentation of Chalcedon (AD 451) in the historical narrative (ii.4), the focus is on the reversal of the unjust decisions of Second Ephesus, the deposition of Dioscorus of Alexandria for disciplinary rather than doctrinal factors, and the establishment of a new doctrinal formula that was fully in accord with the decisions of earlier Councils at Nicaea and Constantinople and with the writings of Cyril of Alexandria;[63] the role of imperial officials in securing agreement is not made as obvious as it is in the full *acta*. But Evagrius also chose to include a second summary of the Chalcedonian *acta*, about four times as long, in the appendix to Book ii (ii.18). Here Dioscorus is the main focus, with material from Second Ephesus quoted to show the disruption of proceedings there, and a detailed account is given of the attempts to persuade Dioscorus to attend the Council of Chalcedon for judgement. On

63 Gray, 'Noah', analyses the creation of a Cyrillian Chalcedon.

doctrinal matters, Evagrius quotes the *acta* to demonstrate the harmony of Leo's Tome with the views of Cyril of Alexandria, and to suggest the Eutychian tendencies of Dioscorus' supporters. If the reputation of Chalcedon were to be upheld, it was still necessary to prove that Dioscorus was guilty of gross misconduct, that he had foregone the chance of a proper hearing, and that, even if he was condemned for his behaviour, he was also suspect doctrinally; by contrast, the much-maligned Pope Leo was consistent with the touchstone of Eastern orthodoxy, Cyril of Alexandria. But this display of ecclesiastical wrangling was best consigned to an appendix, to be read by enthusiasts.

Any selection of material may have a powerful distorting effect, but Evagrius provides a fairly accurate report of most of the documentary material which he cites:[64] he does conflate two letters of Pope Leo, in the confused arguments at Chalcedon he twice seems to have misunderstood which side of the debate a particular contributor was supporting, and there are occasional errors over the order of the arguments and particular names.[65] But, considering the length and complexity of the material which he was summarizing and presenting, his account deserves considerable praise.

Although he is fiercely critical of Nestorius as an impious blasphemer and agent of the Devil (i.2),[66] whose guilt was amply demonstrated by the sufferings which Nestorius acknowledged that he endured during his exile in Egypt (i.7), Evagrius is still remarkably tolerant of the whole process of doctrinal definition through the gradual identification of blasphemy and heresy and the consequent construction of a more rigorous orthodox vocabulary (i.11): even heretics are striving after more appropriate forms of defining 'the ineffable and inscrutable benevolence of God' (p. 18:19–20), and remain in agreement about the vital points of Christian belief; the process, though regrettably disruptive, made the Church stronger in the long run.[67] By emphasizing the conciliatory

64 Though, note ii n. 47 below for an increase in deviations in the documents cited at the start of the narrative of Chalcedon in ii.4.

65 See ii nn. 116 (Leo's letters), 160 (Eusebius' interjection misrepresented), 220, 222 (Faustus' interjections misunderstood), 237 (order of events concerning Ibas), 240 (Bassianus for Sabinianus).

66 Socrates (vii.32) was much more charitable: Nestorius' writings showed that he was not a heretic, though his folly occasioned great discord.

67 Contrast Krivushin, 'Socrates' 99–102, for Socrates' pessimism about doctrinal wrangling.

aspects of fifth-century Councils, Evagrius contributed to the creation of a plausible past to fit his contemporary neo-Chalcedonian needs, though he did not attempt to obscure all evidence for doctrinal disputes.[68] Emperors who worked for tolerance and reconciliation are praised: Anastasius is credited with attempting to preserve the tranquillity of the Church by tolerating the existence of divergent opinions (iii.30), a favourable judgement which ignores the emperor's determined attempt to remove opponents of Monophysite views; Zeno, who is harshly criticized by Evagrius for his avarice and deceit, is handled much more sympathetically with regard to Church matters, because of the compromise attempted in his Henoticon whose sentiments on the triviality of doctrinal divisions are remarkably close to Evagrius' own language.

On the other hand, Justinian, who laboured long and hard for a unifying doctrinal formula, is singled out for criticism because of the disruption which his ecclesiastical policies, and especially his final Aphthartodocete initiative, caused (iv.10, 39–40). Although the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) turned out advantageously, this was entirely the result of God's goodness since the meeting was the product of human scheming and rivalries. There are very substantial omissions in Evagrius' account of doctrinal issues in the sixth century: he does not mention the discussions with Monophysites in 532, Justinian's Theopaschite Edict in 533, the anti-Origenist Edict of 543, the initial Three Chapters Edict of 544, the discussions with Pope Vigilius which led to his acceptance of the Three Chapters Edict in 548, or Justinian's Declaration of Faith in 551 which attempted to make an Ecumenical Council unnecessary. Granted that Justinian's doctrinal initiatives had created the framework for the imperial neo-Chalcedonian stance of the late sixth century, and that all of his major Edicts should have been among the documents preserved in the Antioch patriarchate, Evagrius' presentation points to his strong disapproval of the emperor.

Evagrius and contemporary disputes

Evagrius is noticeably reticent about contemporary ecclesiastical disputes. He has been criticized for this silence by Allen, who suggests as

68 Gray, 'Noah', argues that Chalcedonians in Justinian's reign desired a stable past. Evagrius certainly indulges in selective emphasis, but he does not obliterate all evidence for past changes of mind (e.g. the tergiversation in iii.4–9).

an explanation that relations between the rival camps in Antioch and its hinterland were so changeable that it was prudent for the embattled Chalcedonians to draw a veil of discreet silence over the issues and simply omit all mention of the problem.[69] This verdict, though in some ways plausible, merits further thought: silence is one reaction to a tense division, though forceful argument is equally possible. The latter approach generated the vehement condemnations of Monophysites in Theodore Lector, in reaction to the favours they had received under Anastasius, or of Origenists in the works of Cyril of Scythopolis, who was writing in Palestine where the rivalry between the supporters and opponents of Origen was extremely fierce. The problems facing the Chalcedonians at Antioch have probably been overstated, and, if an individual leader such as Patriarch Gregory was under pressure, it does not follow that the Chalcedonians at Antioch were 'embattled'. Gregory, too, successfully defended himself against his various accusers; many of his problems, indeed, were not doctrinal and did not affect the position of his predecessor, and successor, Anastasius.[70]

The strength of the Monophysite cause may be overestimated. In the fifth century the Antiochene diocese had been the bastion of opposition to Cyril of Alexandria, and prelates who inclined towards the Nestorian end of the Christological spectrum had been in place until well after Chalcedon. Monophysite bishops only gained control under Anastasius, and that towards the end of his reign and after a protracted struggle which showed the limitations of their support; at Sidon in 511 Philoxenus of Mabbug was outvoted by the defenders of Chalcedon. The appointment of Severus as patriarch of Antioch was a Monophysite triumph, but it required considerable energy from him to dominate his see, as his correspondence reveals, and even he could not pressure all his suffragan bishops into conformity.[71] When Justin I succeeded Anastasius in 518, the situation was bound to change: imperial and ecclesiastical patronage

69 *Evagrius* 19–20, 42–4.

70 'Embattled': Allen, *Evagrius* 44. Herrin, *Formation* 185, describes Gregory as an unworthy representative of imperial authority, but this is to accept uncritically the Monophysite presentation of his troubles. The reputation and popularity of Anastasius must have posed continuing problems, but despite this Gregory proved his worth during the eastern mutiny and the exile of Khusro II. In more general terms Kennedy and Liebeschuetz, 'Antioch' 78–81, assert that the patriarch's authority was reduced over a great part of his see, with a split between the metropolitan city and the immediately surrounding territory.

71 Frend, *Rise* 221–31, makes this point.

was controlled by Chalcedonians, and force was used against the obstinate. How far Monophysites could maintain their position under energetic Chalcedonian leaders like Ephrem of Antioch, and in the face of subsequent pressure from Justin's successor Justinian, is doubtful: we naturally hear of the enthusiasts who suffered for their beliefs, but the views of the majority of the population cannot be reconstructed from the polemics of either side in the dispute. The construction of a separate Monophysite hierarchy, towards the end of Justinian's reign, stabilized their influence in certain areas, but their bishops, numbering no more than three dozen or so, did not reside in, or control, the cities; some indeed, like John of Ephesus, may rarely have gone anywhere near their titular see. In the Antiochene patriarchate, Monophysite influence was strongest in the eastern parts, and especially in monasteries, sufficiently remote from the metropolitan gaze to be ignored, but these communities were also extremely fragmented; their self-destructive strife was a major concern for John of Ephesus.[72] In this light, Evagrius' presentation of Chalcedon and its aftermath might reflect confidence in the views which he and his patriarch espoused.

An instructive example of religious allegiance is the fate of the monastery at Qalat Seman, the site of Symeon Stylites the Elder's pillar. It was probably still in Chalcedonian hands in 517 when Severus' opponents assembled there; granted that Severus fled from Antioch in 518, there was little time for him to use his power as patriarch to effect a change of allegiance. In the 520s, however, Severus stated that he had heard that its monks were planning to imitate the brethren at Teleda in response to imperial pressure (*Letters* v.9, pp. 323–4), namely to go into exile, which might indicate that some monks now rejected Chalcedon. But Symeon was still regarded as a Chalcedonian, since Severus had to defend his involvement with the saint, in particular the fact that he had pronounced an encomium for him: Severus' defence was that he had used the speech to demonstrate that Symeon had rejected Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Nestorians and Chalcedon (*Letters* v.11, pp. 334–5). When the monastery came under secure Monophysite control is unknown: assumptions that this occurred during the sixth century are unsafe, and it is quite possible that Chalcedonians were in charge when Evagrius

72 Cf. Frend, *Rise* 283–95. For analysis of the evidence for monasteries under Monophysite control in 567–8, primarily on the eastern slopes of the Limestone Massif behind Antioch, see A. Chaquot in Tchalenko, *Villages* III. 63–85.

visited the shrine in the late sixth century;[73] the monastery is not among those named in the context of Monophysite discussions in 567/8.[74] The definitive change may have occurred during the Arab invasions, when the monastery was raided in the aftermath of the battle of Yarmuk (636) on the day of the saint's feast; the Monophysite Michael the Syrian commented that this was a just punishment for the orgies and drunkenness which accompanied these festivals, an indication that he did not approve of the way the shrine was being run at the time.[75] The affiliation of the monks at Qalat Seman cannot be used to support the theory that Chalcedonian patriarchs at Antioch had become detached from their rural hinterland. Another important religious centre which seems to have been accessible to both Christological parties was the shrine of Sergius at Resafa.[76]

One factor relevant to Evagrius' silence on such disputes is a common tendency of ecclesiastical historians to shy away from contemporary disputes: of the historians of Theodosius II's reign, Sozomen and Theodoret found it politic not to attempt to cover the start of the Nestorian dispute and First Ephesus, while Socrates' approach to Nestorius was very moderate. It took time for issues to become clear, and the cautious author would avoid becoming embroiled in arguments whose outcome was still obscure.[77] By evading mention of Justinian's various initiatives,

73 Discussion in P. Peeters, *Orient et Byzance: le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Subsidia Hagiographica (Brussels, 1950) 134–6 (also, 'L'église géorgienne du Clibanon au Mont Admirable', *AB* 46 (1928), 241–86, at 250–4), who argues against an early switch to Monophysite control, but does not specify a date. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Hanbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12.II.1 (Munich, 1959), 206–7, though citing Peeters, is much more confident about an early takeover (the other discussions cited by Beck deal with the architecture of the monastic complex and are irrelevant to the control of the site). In turn Frend, *Rise* 166 n. 5, cites Beck for change of control on Symeon's death in 459; Kennedy and Liebeschuetz, 'Antioch' 82, then cite Frend for the 'certainty' that Symeon's monastery soon became anti-Chalcedonian.

74 A. Chaquot in Tchalenko, *Villages* III. 63–85.

75 Michael the Syrian xi.6, II. p. 422. Michael, however, also attempted to portray Symeon as an opponent of the Council of Chalcedon by quoting an apocryphal letter (viii.12, II. p. 92).

76 Cf. Elizabeth Fowden, *Plain* 156–7.

77 This only applies to writers from the 'orthodox' camp; schismatics or heretics defined themselves in opposition to the faults of the currently dominant orthodoxy, and so must naturally devote space to contemporary doctrinal arguments. Thus John of Ephesus' *Ecclesiastical History* records the tribulations of the Monophysites at the hands of Chalcedonians in the 570s, and also the internal splits within the Monophysite community.

Evagrius could suggest that neo-Chalcedonian ideas had a longer and more respectable pedigree. Another consideration is that, after the flurry associated with the Aphthartodocete crisis of 564/5, the greatest activity in the Eastern Church occurred within the Monophysite communities, which were rent by various complicated doctrinal divisions. The orthodox writer could have exploited this disorganization as proof of the folly of such opinions, but this might have seemed to lend greater importance to these schismatics than they deserved. In the West, the proceedings of the Fifth Ecumenical Council at which Pope Vigilius was forced to accede to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa, continued to cause disruption, but such matters were far beyond Evagrius' horizons. In Evagrius' world, Chalcedonians were dominant.

Gregory of Antioch had encouraged people not to focus on points of dissension, and this 'official' attitude seems to have been congenial to Evagrius.[78] It is possible that this is not simply the case of an ecclesiastical employee having to kow-tow to the views of his superior, but that a preference for coexistence, with as little disruption as possible, reflected a wider reality in the Eastern Christian communities of the late sixth century: individual Christians were perhaps more prepared to live quietly alongside those of a different doctrinal persuasion than the rhetoric of professional argument might suggest.[79] In Amida, even after the initial round of persecutions of Monophysite clergy and monks under Justin I, the Chalcedonian bishop Abraham bar Khaili was conducting a service in front of a mixed congregation of Monophysites and Chalcedonians when the Monophysite hero, Sergius, stormed into the building to confront him. Our account of the incident by the Monophysite John of Ephesus naturally stresses the rugged individualism of Sergius and his ability to disrupt this cosy arrangement, but it must be remembered that this was a partisan narrative, composed almost half a century after the event by an author who was desperate to remind his fractious co-believers of the virtues of the heroes of his youth.[80] The

78 Urbainczyk, *Socrates* 27, notes Socrates' preference for conciliation and unity.

79 Kennedy and Liebeschuetz assert that doctrinal controversies became a matter of concern for the whole population, and that the Monophysites had a mass following, but the latter statement at least is undercut by their admission in a footnote that the views of monks were crucial ('Antioch' 76, 85).

80 John of Ephesus, *Lives* 5, *PO* 17 p. 102. Harvey, *Asceticism* 68–75, the most authoritative account of John's hagiographical works, treats this and other stories in John as direct

incidental admission that the two parties were sharing the same church service, even if the Monophysites did not receive communion, and that the service was being conducted by an individual who was accorded the reputation of arch-persecutor in Monophysite demonology, might be regarded as more significant.

Christological dispute had become a matter of rival group loyalties, and partisan rivalries were fuelled by the propaganda of competitive miracles,[81] publicized in hagiographies and other ecclesiastical texts. But, as Evagrius put it, 'the essential and vital points are commonly agreed by all' (i.11, p. 18:26–7). Some monasteries near Constantinople housed communities of mixed Christological beliefs, a fact which caused great concern to John of Ephesus since he feared that Monophysites might gradually be seduced into abandoning their distinction from Chalcedonians. John Moschus' *Pratum Spirituale* preserves the story of a simple-minded monk at Scete: he accepted communion without questioning the allegiance of the officiating priest, until an angel appeared to ask whether he wished to be like the monks of Jerusalem or those of Egypt (i.e. Chalcedonian and blessed, or Monophysite and accursed). The Monophysite Isaiah of Gaza, a friend of Peter the Iberian, admitted that true sanctity could be found among the Chalcedonians, though he never accepted Chalcedonian communion: when consulted by two Chalcedonian monks, he replied, 'There is no harm in the Council of the Catholic Church: you are well as you are, you believe well.' The intermediary between Isaiah and his interlocutors was less accommodating, and remarked that the old man had his head in the clouds and was ignorant of the problems caused by the Council – but the monks still followed Isaiah's advice.[82] In Syria, Evagrius' contemporary, Symeon Stylites the Younger, is not presented by his biographer as having to pay attention to a Monophysite 'problem' at his station close to Antioch and its patriarch's official patronage of Chalcedon.[83]

Group loyalty determined allegiances, but individuals could be much

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evidence for the situation in Amida. Allowance must be made for John's literary and pastoral purposes in producing the collection, and for the very different circumstances at the time of composition: John, writing at or near Constantinople in the 570s and 580s, may not have been fully in touch with contemporary realities in the East.

81 Chadwick, 'Moschus' 69–71.

82 *Pratum* 178; John Rufus, *Plerophories* 96, p. 164.

83 Van den Ven, *Symeon* 169–70.

more flexible. Evagrius chose not to highlight the contemporary dispute, but there is no doubt about where his loyalties lay: Chalcedon was the great treasure which Marcian bequeathed to the world (ii.8); Zachariah was a partisan reporter of events even though he may have been correct about the tergiversations of the bishops of Asia (ii.8; iii.9); Severus of Antioch is accused, wrongly, of boasting about his dealings with Anthimus of Constantinople (iv.11); Timothy of Alexandria is implicated in the murder of his rival Proterius and his own standing with his Monophysite followers is misrepresented (ii.8; iii.6).

Evagrius' comments on the question of Church unity are not entirely consistent. Although he approved of the eirenic policy of Anastasius, he also admitted that the lack of communion between churches in different provinces was absurd (iii.30). The situation might appear to have been rectified by Justinian's resolute action in expelling the Monophysites Severus and Anthimus, whereafter 'the Synod of Chalcedon was publicly proclaimed in all the churches' (iv.11, p. 161:19–20); the Synod was no longer anathematized, opponents were coerced in various ways, and the churches were reunited, with the patriarchs now in agreement and the bishops following their leaders (iv.11). But this focus on unity at a purely formal level, achieved through the imposition of imperially approved patriarchs, is undermined by the admission that Severus' anti-Chalcedonian writings remained influential, 'and from there many disputes have arisen for the Church, and the most faithful populace has been divided' (iv.4, p. 154:30–2); the enthusiastic support of Empress Theodora for the anti-Chalcedonians is also acknowledged (iv.10). In his own lifetime, Evagrius admitted that the Church was not united: commenting on the effect of the doctrinal edict issued by Justin II, he observes, 'everyone consented to this edict, saying that its expressions were orthodox; but none of the parts that had broken off was completely united . . .' (v.4, p. 201:13–14); Chalcedon was not to be anathematized, and this prevented full reunion. But his only reference to contemporary Monophysites locates them in the empire's desert frontier regions, 'where the doctrines of Severus are particularly prevalent' (vi.22, p. 238:25); Patriarch Gregory's exposition of Chalcedonian doctrine is said to have brought many back to the orthodox fold. Looking outwards from Chalcedonian Antioch, a similar view to that of Symeon the Younger, the lack of complete unity was undoubtedly distressing, since it demonstrated that the Devil's strategy of a dispute over a single letter was still effective. But to highlight the disagreement would simply play

the Devil's game, and so Evagrius alludes in passing to the continued impact of Severus' ideas but does not report such indications of a decisive break as the creation of separate Monophysite bishops and clergy. Furthermore, for the urban dweller recent pagan scandals provided a more serious enemy which affected the whole Church, and there were other important contemporary concerns.

EVAGRIUS AS HISTORIAN

Historical judgements

Ecclesiastical historiography had always incorporated a substantial element of secular narrative, particularly in its more contemporary sections,[84] and Evagrius is no exception: the secular achievements of the contemporary ruler could be used to prove divine favour, and so contribute to his praise, and they also demonstrated the providential progress of Christian history which was steadily advancing towards a better world – Theodosius II is treated in much the same panegyrical way by his contemporary church historians as Maurice is by Evagrius.[85] Socrates, indeed, commented that the quarrels of bishops were wearisome, and noted the close interconnection between ecclesiastical and imperial problems.[86] Secular success depended in large part on the individual character of the ruler, and of other leading men, and so assessment of personal qualities and defects was a major concern. Divine Providence did favour the world, supplying food to the survivors of a drought and plague or safeguarding the future emperor Tiberius during a military defeat (ii.6; v.11), and virtuous behaviour might extract specific rewards, such as the miraculous effusions of blood from the tomb of Euphemia (ii.3), but the basic fact of life for mankind was change: 'the uncertainty and changeability of life and the sudden variations and about-turns of human existence' (vi.17, p. 234:9–10).[87] The successful ruler, of which Maurice is the prime example, could cope with these fluctuations and bring events to a successful conclusion, whereas unsatisfactory rulers such as Zeno or Justin II were thrown into complete panic by unexpected developments,

84 Liebeschuetz, 'Historians' 162, sensibly observes that this does not make ecclesiastical history more secular; *contra* Allen, 'War' 7.

85 See Urbainczyk, 'Vice'; Whitby, 'Patriarchs'.

86 Socrates Book v, preface.

87 Chesnut, *Histories* 211–12.

and either fled into cowardly exile or relapsed into madness (iii.3; v.11). In their legislation, emperors might proclaim a duty to exercise forethought and make provision before the event,[88] so that Evagrius essentially adopts a standard which was concordant with imperial propaganda.

Evagrius had a clear view of what was required of his leading figures, and these expectations are analysed in a series of character sketches which apply the same matrix of criteria to a range of different individuals. His judgements have been criticized for being stereotyped and repetitious,[89] but closer attention to exactly what he omits as well as what he includes in each assessment reveals a series of subtly different personalities, which can, in many cases, be paralleled from other contemporary sources.[90] Self-control was a key quality, possessed by Maurice who had 'expelled from his soul the mob rule of the passions' (vi.1, p. 223:9–10) and so was in control of everything to which the undisciplined life was devoted (v.19); by contrast Zeno and Justin II were both dissolute, slaves to a succession of mistresses, in a striking image applied to the former (iii.1; cf. v.1). Rulers devoted to personal pleasure were naturally greedy for their subjects' possessions, and were likely to rejoice in bloodshed (iii.2; v.1–2); by contrast, the sensible ruler elevated avoidance of bloodshed to the status of a guiding principle (iii.34; vi.2). Traditional virtues of courage, wisdom, piety, clemency, justice and generosity (v.19; vi.1; v.13) were all important, though it was necessary for generosity in particular to have a limit: Tiberius, renowned for his charitable inclinations, might be thought to have taken this to excess (v.13). These virtues had to operate in the real world, where it was essential for even the best of men to be able to assess the worth of those with whom they had regular dealings: thus, regulated accessibility was a virtue, for which Maurice and Anastasius of Antioch are both praised (v.19; iv.40), in contrast to the extremes of complete seclusion, which the arrogant general Priscus practised with unfortunate consequences (vi.4), or an excessive openness which is hinted at in the case of Tiberius (v.13). Men who combined a suitable balance of these qualities were capable of taking the correct decisions at the appropriate times, and of getting things done: this ideal is presented in the brief assessment of Bishop Domitian, 'an intelligent and shrewd man, most particularly capable in

88 E.g. the Encyclical of Basiliscus, iii.4, p. 103:11–13, with iii. n. 13 below.

89 Allen, *Evagrius* 205 nn. 189, 218, 226, 235, 245.

90 Whitby, 'Patriarchs'.

word and deed and most energetic in the greatest of affairs' (vi.18, p. 234:20–3). The importance to Evagrius of these analyses is underlined by their frequent stylistic elaboration (discussed in the following section).

Such assessments had to be tested against events, which gives purpose to the secular narrative, especially in the latter books where a sequence of one disastrous and two excellent rulers (Justin II, followed by Tiberius and Maurice) can be evaluated in relation to what they accomplished: 'That these things are so will be proved by what has been granted him [Maurice] by God, and by the events of all types which must unanimously be attributed to God' (vi.1, p. 223:15–17). For this reason, the nature of events was of greater importance than specific detail, especially of mundane trifles such as chronology. There was also a limit to what it was appropriate to include in this type of history: Evagrius excuses himself from reporting the details of Maurice's successes, 'and what occurred, and how and in what manner, let others write, or perhaps it will be recounted by me in another work, since the present undertaking is explicitly devoted to other matters' (v.20, p. 215:29–216:1). Evagrius appreciated that the details of military campaigns were not suitable material for his *Ecclesiastical History*, just as Procopius had known that precise discussion of theological issues belonged in a different type of work from his *Wars* (viii.25.13). Failure to attend to the ways in which Evagrius exploited the secular material available to him, both from a source such as Procopius and events of which he had direct experience, has led to misconceptions about the identity and vitality of the distinct historiographical genres.[91]

Under Justin, Evagrius focuses on the emperor's incompetent preparations for war and his stubborn refusal to listen to informed advice, which resulted in disaster for the eastern provinces: Apamea, the metropolis of Evagrius' home province, was sacked and burnt, while Antioch, his place of employment and residence, was seriously threatened (v.7–10); there were numerous portents of the imminent misfortunes, from which Evagrius chose to mention the birth of a two-headed calf which he saw (v.8), a prodigy which perhaps indicated the unsuitability of the current imperial leadership of Justin II.[92] As soon as Tiberius was

91 Allen, *Evagrius* 68–70; *ead.* 'Aspects' is even more negative. Whitby, 'Writing', sets out some contrary arguments; see also Liebeschuetz, 'Historians' 162.

92 Cf. iii.44 for Anastasius' insistence that the empire required a single helmsman. Ammianus xix.12.19 recorded a two-headed prodigy which appeared at Daphne near Antioch

directing affairs, proper preparations were made and a grand invasion led by the arrogant Khusro was repulsed so decisively that the Persian king 'was distraught and helpless and submerged by the ebb and flow of anguish' (v.14–15, p. 211:31–3): here was another ruler who was unable to cope with the changes of fortune. The fact that Evagrius' report of the Roman victory is probably a substantial exaggeration of a limited defensive success merely underlines his purpose: Tiberius was a good ruler, and his initiatives had to be rewarded with success.

Divine favour was demonstrated by the presence of saints, which might be interpreted, like Euphemia's effusions, as a reward for good leadership or serve as a reminder that God had not forgotten the world even if the current ruler was imperfect. Though Symeon Stylites the Elder is given prominence, Evagrius is more concerned with sixth-century saints. This is, in part, a result of the availability of information, since Gregory of Antioch could have provided a fund of stories about recent monastic stars, but it also reflects the function of such stories in Evagrius' text. Under Justin and Justinian, God's favour to the Romans had to be emphasized to offset the impression of divine hostility which repeated natural disasters and military problems might have created, problems which might have been attributed to the misdeeds of the emperor, Justinian in particular. Under Tiberius and Maurice, miracles reinforced the positive presentation of these rulers. Thus the records of saints and miracles form a bridge between the ecclesiastical and secular elements in the narrative: they are part of the standard fare of ecclesiastical historiography, but also a demonstration of the concern of Divine Providence with current worldly matters.

Causation

Granted Evagrius' providential view of history, it is not surprising that his comments on causation focus on the operation of God in this world: indeed, the review of the contents of his *History* in the preface does not include causation as a separate element, in marked contrast to the professed interests of secular classicizing historians in the mould of Procopius. The relevant knowledge rests with God: 'And what will follow is

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to foreshadow the deformed condition of the state. For Evagrius it may have indicated that the emperor was about to acquire a colleague.

unclear . . . since He knows both the causes and where they lead' (iv.29, p. 179:12–14); this verdict, delivered in the context of the Plague, could be applied more generally to Evagrius' approach to history. God took care to honour 'the holy memories of His saints', either with the collaboration of pious rulers like Theodosius II or contrary to the intentions of the impious Julian (i.16, p. 26:10–11). Sinners could expect punishment. The judgement of God awaited Nestorius in captivity, and increased the severity of his punishment, thereby providing clear evidence for the error of Nestorius' views (i.7). In the case of Aetherius and Addaeus, alleged conspirators against Justin II, Evagrius does not commit himself to accepting the treason charge against them, but he categorically asserts that both men were sinners (v.3); the implication is that they have received their just deserts, even though Evagrius is also hostile to the bloodthirsty nature of the emperor. Those who escape punishment in this world will obtain their reward in the next: Justinian 'departed to the lowest places of punishment' as a result of the confusion he had caused (v.1, p. 195:6–7), while Justin II admitted in his speech at the elevation of Tiberius to Caesar that he had 'become liable to the extreme penalties' (v.13, p. 209:2–3). On the other hand, God tempered punishment with mercy, especially towards ordinary people: after the earthquake disasters at Antioch in the 520s, God demonstrated his 'sympathy at the very moment of despair' by producing Ephrem to co-ordinate the rescue effort (iv.6, p. 156:14–15); similarly in the quake of 588, 'God tempered His threat with clemency and chastened our sin with the branch of compassion and pity' (vi.8, p. 228:2–4). Calamities might represent God's angry punishment of His errant people, but they could also be the work of the Devil or a demon: Nestorius' heresy is the most prominent instance, but the massive fire at Constantinople in 464 was also sparked off by 'a certain wicked and vengeful demon' (ii.13, p. 64:20); a similar formula could be employed to explain away the popular opposition to Patriarch Gregory at Antioch (v.18), when a thorough investigation might have revealed a very interesting blend of personal rivalries and economic and social factors.

Chronology and dating

Another aspect of secular historiography for which Evagrius shows scant interest is chronology.[93] Where a source provided a date, Evagrius was

93 Cf. discussion above (Sources, Arrangement of material).

usually capable of reproducing it, but this still left plenty of scope for error or imprecision.[94] There is only one complicated synchronism, and this is explicitly attributed to Eustathius, who had used it to mark the start of Anastasius' reign: Anastasius is dated by reference to Diocletian, Augustus, Alexander the Great, Romulus and the capture of Troy (iii.29), a combination which reflects the variety of historical and cultural perspectives that were relevant to Eustathius. Evagrius attempted a partial imitation to mark the accession of his contemporary emperor, Maurice, though this is marred by an error in regnal years, since Evagrius managed to duplicate the period of joint rule between Justin II and Tiberius, and by the loss from the manuscripts of the figure for the years from Romulus (v.23). The choice of the years from Romulus might seem strange for an eastern Roman historian, but this calculation was also used, appropriately enough, to mark the deposition of the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus (ii.16), another passage for which Eustathius is the most obvious source (even if the precise date is corrupt). Evagrius clearly appreciated its Roman and imperial connotations, and so followed Eustathius' practice when constructing his own formula.

The two main dating systems employed by Evagrius are the Antiochene Era and regnal years, though neither occurs frequently. The Antiochene Era, often used in conjunction with Macedonian months, is naturally associated with information derived from Malalas: it is used to date the earthquake of 468, in conjunction with a regnal year and an indiction (cf. 3.33: appointment of Severus), Justin I's accession (iv.1), the deposition of Severus (iv.4), and Justinian's appointment as co-emperor (iv.9).[95] The quake of 588 is also dated by its Antiochene year (vi.18), information for which Evagrius must take full responsibility; it would appear that the city still used its official dating Era and Macedonian months. Regnal years are more common, being supplied by Eustathius and Procopius, as well as Malalas (e.g. iii.37, iv.16, 19), and calculated by Evagrius himself for contemporary events (v.17, 23; vi.24). Evagrius also reckoned back from the year of composition to date the Plague (iv.29), a formula which is not immediately comprehensible

94 Though he failed to report accurately Malalas' date for the 458 earthquake at Antioch (ii.12 with notes).

95 This follows what Evagrius has marked as the conclusion of his text of Malalas (the 526 quake: iv.5), but could easily have been calculated from the Malalas-based date for Justin's accession.

though it can be worked out by reference to the information in Evagrius' final chapter (vi.24).

Such precision, however, is uncommon. Expressions such as 'At this period', 'In the same times', 'At the same time', 'During these times', 'After some time' or 'While these things were going on' are standard, so that the time sequence often remains very vague.[96] In part, the responsibility lies with Evagrius' sources, since, for example, much of Malalas' information on the fifth century was only imprecisely dated and caused problems to other historians who tried to follow it;[97] Eustathius, too, may sometimes have failed to offer a clear chronology, since Evagrius had no notion of the relative dates of the sequence of revolts against Zeno, though in this case Theophanes presented the information more accurately.[98] Evagrius, however, also did not make use of what chronological information was readily available: thus in his paraphrase of Procopius, there are regnal year dates for the start of the Vandal expedition and the first capture of Rome (iv.16, 19), but the long-delayed conclusion of the Italian campaign is not dated, and there is no attempt to synchronize events in the West and on the Persian front;[99] Khusro's 540 invasion of Syria is dated by a regnal year (iv.25), but the implication is that his subsequent rebuffs at Edessa (544) and Sergiopolis (542) occurred in the same year, and these two attacks are presented in the wrong order (iv.27–8).

Evagrius' chronological weakness is most apparent in the events of his own life. On occasions there are simply no indications of the passage of time: the notice of episcopal succession that precedes the account of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553 (iv.37–8) contains no dates, or lengths of office, so that the single most important ecclesiastical event of Evagrius' life is left undated, while his uncertainty about the date of Eustochius' accession at Jerusalem distorts his narrative of the embassies which preceded the Council.[100] It is not surprising that events of the

96 E.g. i.17, 19, 20; iii.43; iv.39; vi.16, 20, 23.

97 E.g. i.20, the material on the marriage of Theodosius, and Eudocia's visits to the Holy Land.

98 Evagrius iii.14–27, with cross-references to Theophanes in the notes *ad loc.*

99 See iv n. 62 below.

100 See iv nn. 119, 121 below. Even his reuse of an account of episcopal succession from Zachariah displays some uncertainty, since at the end of a dense passage he apologized, 'I have had to link these together in sequence for the sake of clarity and comprehension' (iii.23); a more plausible explanation might be that Evagrius lacked the knowledge to divide up the information.

contemporary Persian war are almost completely devoid of dates: the initial appeal of Armenian rebels to Justin II is dated to the first year of Gregory's patriarchate (v.7), though no date has been given for his accession to the see so that the information is not very helpful; thereafter the only significant division in the narrative is Maurice's accession, but events on either side of it are reported without any attempt at a clear sequence.[101] As a result, when Evagrius does offer a chronology for the events of the very recent past, he not surprisingly introduced a serious error in narrating the actions of Philippicus after the termination of the eastern mutiny in 588/9: the account contains two references to the Roman army returning to winter quarters, and one to the events of an intervening summer (vi.14), though in fact the events occurred in the space of less than six months within the same campaign season, with no return to winter quarters at all.[102]

If chronological detail was not important for Evagrius, he was still concerned to produce a narrative that displayed a 'sensible arrangement' (i.2, p. 7:12–13), with events presented at their 'appropriate times' (ii.1, p. 36:9) in an account whose 'sequence' was permitted to 'flow' (v.15, p. 212:2–3; v.21, p. 217:7–8; v.24, p. 219:27). Digressions, or diversions to significantly different topics or types of evidence, are clearly marked either at their start, or conclusion, or at both.[103] The narrative had to be kept in proportion, so that certain matters were excluded on grounds of excessive length: some of the correspondence associated with the Acacian schism (iii.23, p. 121:13–14), the miracles of Zosimas which were too numerous to relate (iv.7, p. 157:16–19), or the misdeeds of Justinian whose nature could be inferred from the selection presented (iv.32, p. 182:10–13). The details of the behaviour of Symeon the Fool are not presented, since they were so interesting that they deserved a separate treatment (iv.34, p. 184:22–3). Evagrius, though, recognized that readers would have different interests and priorities, and so placed the important but protracted summary of the proceedings at Chalcedon in an appendix at the end of the relevant Book, 'lest I seem to be

101 E.g. v.19–20, the sequence of Maurice's commands in the years 578–82; vi.3–4, the operations of John Mystacon and Philippicus in 582–7.

102 See notes *ad loc.*

103 Start: i.14, p. 23:31; iii.35, p. 134:24–6; iv.26, pp. 172:29–173:1; iv.28, p. 176:7–9; iv.29, p. 177:3. Conclusion: i.11 p. 20:16–19; i.13, p. 23:27–9; iii.21, p. 120:3; iv.29, p. 179:14–16. Both: ii.1, pp. 37:20, 38:7–8; iii.39–41, pp. 136:32–137:3, 144:18–19; iv.7, pp. 156:25–7, 159:7–9.

long-winded to those who are eager for the end of the events; thereby I have given an opportunity to those who wish to know everything minutely both to peruse them and to form an accurate impression of everything' (ii.4, p. 44:11–17). On two occasions, Evagrius' refusal to provide full information has a clear defensive purpose: those interested in the explanation for Eudocia's trips to Jerusalem are referred to 'the historians, even though they do not seem to me to be truthful' (i.21, p. 29:20–1), while there is even stronger condemnation of the inaccuracies of writers who might relate the actions of Philippicus while in charge of the eastern army (vi.3, p. 224:14–18).

EVAGRIUS AS AUTHOR

Patriarch Photius (*cod.* 29), in his brief assessment of Evagrius, offered the judgement that 'his style is not without charm, even if it sometimes seems to be somewhat excessive'.[104] Of his predecessors in the tradition of ecclesiastical historiography, Socrates' deliberately plain style received the comment that there was nothing remarkable in it (*cod.* 28), Sozomen was regarded as superior to Socrates (*cod.* 30), and only Theodoret was accorded a complimentary notice – he employed the appropriate style, clear, elevated and restrained, though occasionally his metaphors were excessive (*cod.* 31). Evagrius himself praised elegance of style in other writers, and, whatever the traditionally modest protestations of his introduction,[105] he clearly hoped that his narrative would strike its readers as a pleasant interweaving of materials.[106] Evagrius' attention to stylistic matters has been seen as one of the indications that he was departing from the conventions of ecclesiastical historiography and adopting the habits of secular historians,[107] but the precedent of Theodoret and the stylistic polemic of Socrates – both defensive in respect to his own work (vi.1) and critical of the lost history by Philip of Side (vii.27) – indicate that Evagrius was not, in fact, being innovative in this respect.

Diversity of subject matter was a factor in Evagrius' literary organization, and he presents a blend of ecclesiastical documentation and

104 The most complete discussion of Evagrius' linguistic and stylistic practice is Thurmayr, *Studien*; Caires, 'Evagrius', makes a number of useful observations.

105 Priscus (i.17), Eustathius (i.19), Procopius (iv.12).

106 The weaving image is employed at i.1; iv.11, 29.

107 Allen, *Evagrius* 51–2; 'Aspects' 377–81.

historical narrative, of church affairs and secular material, and various digressions and set pieces. Each book contains ecclesiastical documents, often very substantial: the decision of First Ephesus and related texts (i.4, 6), the *acta* of Chalcedon and an Encyclical of Leo (ii.4, 9–10, 18), doctrinal Edicts of Basiliscus and Zeno, reactions to these, and extracts from the letter to Alcison (iii.4–5, 7, 14 ,17, 20–1, 31, 33), texts related to the Fifth Ecumenical Council (iv.38),[108] Justin II's doctrinal Edict (v.4), the dedications of Khusro II (vi.21). Each book also contains diversions from the narrative. In Book i, Evagrius analyses the Devil's assault on the Church, relates Nestorius' account of his exile, attacks pagans, describes Symeon the Stylite's lifestyle, and reviews the different types of contemporary asceticism (i.1, 7, 11, 21). Book ii provides a description of the shrine of Euphemia and her miraculous effusions (ii.3). In Book iii, he moralizes on the consequences of lack of self-control and on opportunity, and attacks the pagan historian Zosimus (iii.1, 26, 40–1). Book iv contains accounts of numerous saints and miracles, as well as the analysis of the plague and a description of S. Sophia (iv.7, 15, 26–9, 31, 33–6). In Book v, Evagrius pays considerable attention to the characters of leading figures, Justin, Gregory of Antioch, Tiberius and Maurice, relates portents of Maurice's succession, and reviews his own historiographical predecessors (v.1, 6, 9, 13, 19, 21, 24). Book vi opens with a panegyrical description of Maurice's marriage, contains a formal speech delivered by Gregory to the eastern army, and describes the career of Symeon Stylites the Younger (vi.1, 11, 23). It is perhaps significant that Books which contain a high proportion of ecclesiastical texts (e.g. ii) have relatively little by way of other diversions from the narrative, while the converse is also true (iv and v).

Evagrius employed different levels of stylistic presentation for his different types of material, which has led to criticism of a choppy quality in his style, with the flat narrative being interspersed with rhetorical highlights.[109] There is some justice in this complaint, but criticism might have been even harsher if Evagrius had composed the whole work in his basic narrative style, without any relief. Evagrius' rhetoric frequently has a point: thus his praise of Marcian is enhanced by elaborate periphrasis

108 Evagrius' failure to quote any of Justinian's religious pronouncements has already been noted, and should probably be linked with Evagrius' hostility to this emperor because of his eventual lapse into heresy.

109 Caires, 'Evagrius' 49.

(ii.1: e.g. the discussion of the name Augustus), and his condemnation of Zeno's wickedness is heightened by the digression on the consequences of intemperance (iii.1). In general, imperial portraits are occasions for a loftier style (e.g. iv.30; v.i.19; vi.1). Evagrius was a self-conscious writer, who deliberately builds up parallel and antithetical sequences to demonstrate his artistry: for example, God's care for men in the context of the 526 earthquake at Antioch is described as follows:

> which devises cures before the blow, and tempers the sword of anger with mercy, which exhibits its own sympathy at the very moment of despair, raised up Ephrem, who directed the reins of the eastern realm, to assume every care so that the city should not lack any necessities. And as a consequence the sons of the Antiochenes, in admiration, elected him as priest. And he obtained the apostolic see, being allotted it as a reward and privilege for his especial support (iv. 6, p. 156:14–21).

Three relative clauses portray the operation of God's care: Ephrem's position as *comes Orientis* is described obliquely, the inhabitants of Antioch are graced with a periphrasis, and finally Ephrem's appointment as patriarch is reported indirectly.

Metaphors play an important part in Evagrius' linguistic amplification and variation.[110] Thus Anastasius of Antioch's opposition to Justinian's Aphthartodocetist heresy is elevated with military terminology:

> Justinian assailed this man like some impregnable tower by applying contrivances of all sorts, reckoning that, if he could shake this one, there would be no toil left in capturing the city and enslaving the correct doctrines and taking captive the flocks of Christ. But to such an extent was he [Anastasius] elevated aloft by his sacred courage – for he had taken his stand upon the immovable rock of the faith – that he even opposed Justinian in public . . . (iv.40, p. 191:7–14).[111]

Similarly strong language is used of other heretics: Arius was 'fettererd in the shackles forged at Nicaea; furthermore, Eunomius and Macedonius had been shipwrecked in the Bosporus and shattered at the city of

110 There is a full collection in Thurmayr, *Studien* 15–46, with copious parallels from other late Greek authors.

111 Cf. the language applied to the Devil at i.1.

Constantine' (i.1, p. 6:7–11). Not surprisingly, the tirades against pagans (i.11) and Zosimus (iii.41) contain emotive rhetoric, as does the legalistic challenge to Nestorius (i.7). There is a variety of metaphorical expressions for assuming or wielding authority, and for death: thus Justinian 'departed to the lowest places of punishment. But Justin ... donned the purple after him' (v.1, p. 195:5–10); 'Marcian exchanged kingdoms by departing for the better fate' (ii.8, p. 55:9–11); 'Maurice ascended to the imperial power when Tiberius was drawing his last breaths' (v.22, p. 217:9–10). Common variants are expressions which involve wielding sceptres, binding on crowns, steering the state, entering the universal resting-place, measuring out life. Evagrius carefully varied his expressions for such events which recur frequently in his narrative.

Many aspects of Evagrius' style reflect the standard Greek of the later Roman empire, especially the Greek of ecclesiastical and legal rhetoric which formed the basis for his professional career. This point can be illustrated through Festugière's comment (314 n.26) on the words πρεπόντως ποιῶν (iii.9, p. 108:26), which he translates as 'being in good health', remarking that Evagrius has characteristically replaced a standard expression with a bizarre turn of phrase; I disagree with Festugière's translation of the phrase,[112] but the significant point for the current discussion is that Evagrius is here quoting from a letter of the bishops of Asia to Patriarch Acacius – if the phrase is bizarre, this was how bishops chose to express themselves. A comparable example of Evagrius' adoption of a standard stylistic device is his frequent use of αὐτός, 'the same' or 'this', to which Festugière draws attention (205 n.10). The same trait has been identified in Malalas, where it is suggested that it imparted a legalistic tone – though bureaucratic would perhaps be as good a characterization:[113] it is part of the process of lending solemnity to the narrative, which also included superfluous qualifying phrases such as 'so-called', 'as it is known', or 'the aforesaid'.

Avoidance of common modes of expression is part of this campaign for elevation:[114] cities are rarely referred to by their simple name, but rather as the 'city of Antiochus' or 'the city of the Antiochenes'; Constantinople is graced with a range of periphrases, Byzantium, 'the

112 See iii n. 35 below.

113 M. Jeffreys, 'Bury' 43.

114 Cameron and Cameron, 'Christianity'; Averil Cameron, *Agathias* ch. 8.

imperial city', 'the queen of cities', 'the new Rome', 'the newer Rome'. Official positions and titles tend to be presented indirectly, as in the case of Ephrem noted above, though there are exceptions in the citation of the *acta* of Chalcedon (ii.18), and Longinus is described as holding 'the office of *magister*, which men previously called commander of the regiments at court' (iii.29, p. 125:28–9).[115] The same applies to foreigners: the Huns are presented as Scythians (i.17, p. 26:26), or if their modern name is used it is qualified as 'the Massagetae of old' (iii.2, p. 100:10); Goths and Avars are also described as 'Scythians' (iii.25, p. 122:10; v.1, p. 196:6–7), and the Goths perhaps as Massagetae (v.14, p. 209:31) though Evagrius is not consistent and sometimes uses the contemporary term (Gothic at iii.27, p. 124:10; Avars at vi.10, p. 228:21). Such periphrases have been identified as characteristic of secular historians like Agathias and Theophylact.[116] But Evagrius was also prepared to be explicit: in his description of S. Sophia he provided facts and figures, which can largely be corroborated from the extant building (iv.31), and his description of the ecclesiastical complex of S. Euphemia at Chalcedon is also a clear account of the complicated structure (ii.3).[117] Evagrius' stylistic practice cannot be encapsulated in a neat generalization.

With Evagrius the late antique tradition of ecclesiastical historiography came to an end. For Allen, the explanation rested with the constraints of the genre, which Evagrius had stretched to breaking-point by his inclusion of substantial quantities of secular material and by the adoption of the higher style of the classicizing secular tradition.[118] This explanation, however, seems too mechanical: it disregards the precedents provided by the fifth-century church historians for both these practices, the fact that much formal ecclesiastical literature was couched in a fairly rhetorical form, and the significant ways in which Evagrius reshaped his

115 There is also a partial admission of a Latin term in the description of Vitalian as 'general of one of the so-called praesental armies' (iv.3), and *curopalatus* is used, with appropriate explanation at v.1. Thurmayr, *Studien* 11, provides a list of Latinisms, but does not distinguish between those preserved in quoted documents (the majority) and those for which Evagrius was personally responsible.

116 Averil Cameron, *Agathias* 88.

117 Caires, 'Evagrius' 34, compares Evagrius favourably with the vaguer descriptions of buildings in Procopius' panegyrical *Buildings*.

118 Allen, *Evagrius* 69–70.

secular material through selective emphasis (particularly in the case of the Procopian narrative, as discussed above). One factor in the demise of ecclesiastical historiography is likely to have been the general decline in the availability of education in the late sixth and early seventh centuries as the majority of cities, whose elites had financed the classical training of their sons in the expectation of benefits in terms of imperial employment and status, contracted or were captured in the diverse attacks to which the empire was subjected. But this cannot be the sole or complete explanation, since in Constantinople an educated elite did survive, especially in the Church where complex doctrinal arguments were still in progress, and so there should have been individuals with the capacity to compose a narrative of ecclesiastical events, if that had been regarded as desirable.

Ecclesiastical historians, at least those writing from within the orthodox or approved community, had always had trouble in dealing with unresolved ecclesiastical business: Eusebius left the Arian heresy to be handled by others; Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret had similarly evaded the full complexities of the Nestorian controversy; and Evagrius records less about Christological issues in the sixth century than the disputes of the fifth. Any successor to Evagrius would have had to tackle the Monothelete dispute of the mid-seventh century and, even if a writer at the end of the seventh century might have felt confident about reporting this controversy, the arguments about icon worship soon emerged as an equally divisive topic. Another awkward issue was the spectacular failure of the Christian empire when faced by the challenge of Islam. Eusebius' presentation of the achievements of Constantine as proof of the validity of the Christian message had established the precedent for ecclesiastical historians to incorporate secular events into their narrative as material which was relevant to the reporting of God's work in the world. The author of a continuation to Evagrius would have to decide how to present the successful establishment of a rival religion. Narrative strategies could have been devised to cope with this: for example the formulation evident in Monophysite sources, that Arab successes were the consequence of heresy, could have been adapted to apply to imperial support for the Monothelete formula, but there would still have been the question of why God did not reward the Christians once correct belief had been restored. For a variety of reasons a providential history might have seemed too difficult to contemplate.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

It is difficult to detect the impact of Evagrius' *History* or identify readers in subsequent centuries. It may have influenced the shape of his cousin John of Epiphania's secular history of the Persian War of 572–91, and so, via John, the extant narrative of Theophylact Simocatta.[119] It became relevant during the iconoclast disputes of the eighth century since it provided the earliest evidence for the *acheiropoietos* image of Edessa, with the result that the text of iv.27 was an object of contention at Second Nicaea, the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787.[120] In the ninth century Photius read Evagrius and accorded him a brief assessment (*Bibl. cod.* 29), in the tenth century Symeon Metaphrastes (*PG* 114, col. 392) knew Evagrius' story of the miraculous star at Symeon Stylites' shrine (i.14), and Nicephorus Callistus *c.*1300 used Evagrius as a source, but this is not a rich haul. On the basis of the infrequency of citations, Bidez and Parmentier concluded their survey of the manuscript tradition with the observation that copies 'became scarce at an early date';[121] the prospects for survival were enhanced in the eleventh century when Evagrius was attached to Socrates or Sozomen to provide a substantial ecclesiastical narrative which embraced the first five Ecumenical Councils.

Four manuscripts contributed to the construction of the authoritative Bidez-Parmentier text, one each from the eleventh through to the fourteenth centuries, of which by far the most important is the twelfth-century *Laurentianus* lxx. The printed history of the text falls into three phases. The first edition by Stephanus (Paris, 1544) was based on a single poor sixteenth-century Paris manuscript, but for two centuries this served as the basis for various translations, of which some also recorded corrections and conjectures; the most important of these was that of J. Christophorson (Louvain, 1570; Paris, 1571). The publication by Valesius (Henri de Valois) of a new text of the Greek ecclesiastical historians with Latin translations (Paris, 1673) marked the second phase, since this was based on a much wider sample of the manuscript tradition (though not yet *Laurentianus* lxx), and exploited the notes and suggestions of scholars who had worked with Stephanus' text. Valesius'

119 Whitby, *Maurice* 245.

120 See Chrysostomides, 'Investigation' xxvii, though for rejection of Chrysostomides' theories about Evagrius, see Appendix 2.

121 Bidez–Parmentier, Introduction viii.

edition went through numerous reprints, most importantly providing the text for the *Patrologia Graeca* (*PG* 86.2; 1865). This edition generated further translations, including the standard English version, which was published without indication of author as volume VI of *The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the First Six Centuries of the Christian Era, in six volumes* (London, 1846), and then included in H. G. Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library.[122] Eventually, recognition of the importance of *Laurentianus* lxx paved the way for a new edition to be commissioned as part of J. B. Bury's projected series of Byzantine Texts, an initiative whose main memorial is the edition of Evagrius by J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (Methuen, London, 1898).[123] The Bidez–Parmentier text provided the basis for the French translation by A. J. Festugière *Byzantion* 45 (1975), 187–488.

I have used the standard text of Bidez and Parmentier, whose pagination is included in square brackets in the translation, except at a handful of instances, signalled in the notes, where suggestions of Festugière have seemed preferable. I have found the anonymous BEL translation to be pretty accurate overall, even though it is based on the edition of Valesius; Festugière's translation is less precise, especially in complex passages, although there are useful notes on linguistic, textual and some historical matters. I have tried to mark those places where I depart significantly from their respective interpretations. This translation aims to provide an accurate version of Evagrius' Greek, one which respects his stylistic preferences and idiosyncracies but which is still comprehensible to the intended readership. Granted that Evagrius' contemporaries would have found his style somewhat formal and different from everyday language, there is intended to be a slightly rhetorical and periphrastic feel to the translation. Each translator has their own preferences in weighing up the competing claims of precision and readability, and objections can be raised against any particular compromise.

The notes are intended to guide readers towards other relevant texts, and in particular to Evagrius' sources, and to provide clarification of

122 This translation is sometimes attributed to H. G. Bohn (Chrysostomides, 'Investigation' xxvii n. 48), or H. A. Bohn (Averil Cameron, 'Iconoclasm' 39 n. 27), but I am not sure on what authority.

123 The series only produced four volumes: the others are F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (1899); C. Sathas, *The History of Psellus* (1899); S. P. Lambros, *Ecthesis Chronica* and *Chronicon Athenarum* (1902).

historical and historiographical issues. The history of the Church in the fifth and sixth centuries is a complex business, and it is not my aim to supply a narrative: those interested should consult the general histories or studies by Fliche and Martin, Frend, McGuckin or Meyendorff. For secular events and issues, Jones' *Later Roman Empire* is still supreme, although the forthcoming volume XIV of the *Cambridge Ancient History* will supply narrative and analysis on a wide range of relevant matters.[124] Pauline Allen's various studies of Evagrius have made the task of annotation much easier than it might have been. I have inevitably noted places where I am in disagreement with her suggestions or interpretations, but that is because she has produced the authoritative treatment of Evagrius; such differences should not disguise the extent of my appreciation for her work.

124 There is also a briefer and simpler narrative in S. Williams and J. G. P. Friell, *The Rome that did not Fall: the survival of the East in the fifth century* (London, 1999).

CHAPTERS OF THE FIRST BOOK OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS THE *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT FROM EPIPHANIA[1]

[1] 1. Prelude by the author, how he came to write the present work. Then the chapter one, that although heresies had ceased for a short time after the overthrow of the impious Julian, subsequently the evil Devil again disrupted the Faith.

2. How Nestorius was revealed through the teaching of his disciple Anastasius the deacon to be calling the holy Mother of God not Theotokos but Christotokos.

3. What the great Cyril wrote to Nestorius, and how the Third

1 The different MSS of Evagrius in total preserve nine sets of chapter headings for the six Books of the *Ecclesiastical History*: two each for Books i, iii and iv, one each for the remaining Books. These headings can be divided into two, or just possibly three, groups. One group consists of those introduced with the formula 'These are the contents' (τάδε ἔνεστιν), namely the headings for Books ii(1), iii(1), iv(1), v and vi; the headings are succinct, but provide a reasonable guide to the contents of the following Book. This group is preserved in the MSS tradition represented by *Laurentianus* 79, *Patmiacus* 688 and *Baroccianus* 142, but is absent from *Laurentianus* 70 (the lists for Books v and vi were copied, along with surrounding material, into lacunae in this MS by a later scribe: see Bidez–Parmentier, Introduction v). The second group comprises Books ii(2), iii(2), iv(2), all of which are introduced as 'Chapters' (Κεφάλαια), and perhaps 1(2) which is described at the end of the title as λόγοι κ, literally 'twenty accounts', here certainly referring to the twenty headings which follow: in each case the list is contained only in *Laurentianus* 70, and it is significantly shorter than the other list which survives. The remaining list, Book i(1) is preserved only in *Baroccianus* 142; this tends to tie it to the first group (though *Laurentianus* 79 and *Patmiacus* 688 do not contain it), as does the greater fullness of the descriptions of the chapter contents; however, the title introduces the list as 'Chapters' (Κεφάλαια), as in the *Laurentianus* 70 lists.

Although ancient authors sometimes equipped their works with lists of contents, a practice indeed which can be specifically connected with ecclesiastical historians, it is not possible to demonstrate that Evagrius was responsible for any of those which survive. Nor can the priority of one group of lists over the other be proven, although I tend to regard those connected with *Laurentianus* 70 (the MS which represents the oldest state of the text: see Bidez–Parmentier, Introduction viii) as the first version, which was then expanded by a copyist in the interests of greater clarity.

[3] OF EVAGRIUS THE *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT OF EPIPHANIA, TWENTY CHAPTERS OF *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY*

[5] BOOK I OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS OF EPIPHANIA, *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT

Eusebius son of Pamphilus – this was a man who was particularly erudite in various respects and especially in the ability to persuade his readers to practise our faith, even if he was not capable of making them absolutely correct.[1] Now Eusebius son of Pamphilus, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Socrates have elaborated better than everyone else the arrival amongst us of the benevolent God, the ascent to heaven, all the accomplishments both of the venerable apostles as well as of the martyrs who contended to the end, or anything else indeed done by others which for us is praiseworthy, or indeed otherwise, up to a point in the reign of Theodosius.[2]

1 Pamphilus, a pupil of Origen who suffered martyrdom in 309, was teacher of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea *c.* 315–40; Barnes, *Constantine* 94, suggests that Eusebius must have been adopted by his tutor to account for the common appellation 'son of Pamphilus'. Eusebius' ability to attract converts probably refers to his *Praeparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*, which upheld the Christian rejection of pagan traditions and proved the truth of the Gospels by reference to the Old Testament. As a reluctant supporter of the Nicene Creed because he disliked the term *homoousios*, 'consubstantial', his orthodoxy was suspect (Socrates i.8.34, 23.6–8; ii.21). For full discussion, see Barnes, *Constantine* Part 2, and for his doctrinal position 215–16, 226–7.

2 The notion of operating within a historiographical sequence was important for all the early church historians. Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* had narrated the affairs of the Church down to the establishment of Christianity by Constantine, and his *Life of Constantine* extended this to the emperor's death in 337. The narrative of Eusebius' *EH* was deliberately continued by various authors, for example Gelasius of Caesarea, but Sozomen, Theodoret and Socrates, who all flourished under Theodosius II (408–50), overshadowed the alternatives. Sozomen's work now terminates in the 420s and has little to say of the ecclesiastical events of Theodosius II's reign (though it may be unfinished), Theodoret

Since subsequent events, which are not far inferior to these, have not obtained any sort of sequential account,[3] I decided, even though I am not expert at such matters, to undertake the labour for their sake and to make these into an account, putting full trust in Him who both gave wisdom to fishermen and changed an unreasoning tongue into articulate eloquence.[4] I decided to resurrect deeds already deadened by oblivion, to bring them to life in word, and to make them immortal in memory,[5] so that each of the readers may be able to know the what, when, where, **[6]** how, to whom, and by whom things happened up to our time,[6] so

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stopped in 428, i.e. before the appointment of Nestorius with whose Christological views he had considerable sympathy, and Socrates finished his narrative in 439. Evagrius declines to name the Arian Philostorgius, whose church history (now fragmentary) also continued Eusebius' account to the middle of Theodosius' reign.

Ps.-Zachariah (ii.1) has a similar allusion to the sequence of Eusebius, Socrates and Theodoret, which extended to the 32nd year of Theodosius II (i.e. 439/40).

For discussion of the contents of church histories, see introduction; also Markus, 'Church History'; Chesnut, *Historians*; Allen, *Evagrius* ch. 3. At v.24 Evagrius provides an extended review of the historiographical tradition in which he placed himself.

3 There were at least two continuators in Greek to this sequence of ecclesiastical historians, Theodore Lector, whose work, of which only fragments now survive, extended to the accession of Justin I (518), and Zachariah of Mitylene whose work terminated at the accession of Anastasius (491); an abridged version of Zachariah survives in a sixth-century Syriac church history (pseudo-Zachariah). Although there is no evidence that Evagrius knew Theodore's work, he certainly used Zachariah but refused to accord this Monophysite writer a place in the canonical sequence of church historians. For the importance of the orderly sequence of church history, see Markus, 'Church History' 8, and Allen, *Evagrius* 47–8.

4 A reference to the miracle of Pentecost (Acts 2:1–4). An apology for lack of literary competence was traditional, and parallels can be found in secular as well as ecclesiastical history, hagiography and panegyric: e.g. Agathias, *Hist.* preface 12–13; Menander Protector fr. 1:2; Theophylact, *Hist.* preface 16; Socrates vi pref. 1–5; Sozomen i.1.10; Theodoret, *EH* i.1.; ps.-Zachariah ii.1; *Life* of Daniel 1; *Life* of Euthymius, dedication, p. 6:17–21; Paul the Silentiary, *Ecphrasis* 99–114.

5 Fear of oblivion is also traditional: e.g. Procopius, *Wars* i.1.1; Agathias, *Hist.* preface 1–2; John of Epiphania 1; Theodoret, *EH* i.1.2, p. 4:13; *Life* of Euthymius 1, p. 8:14–17. The need to remember important deeds can be traced back to the preface of Herodotus, and is present in Diodorus Siculus i.2, the most influential of all historical prefaces on later Greek authors; in secular authors remembrance is often associated with the didactic function of history (e.g. the prefaces to Diodorus or Agathias), but this theme is not exploited by ecclesiastical historians.

For a specific example of the preservation of information by Evagrius, see i.7, p. 12:16–19.

6 It may be significant that this list does not include causation, the 'why', an element which is prominent in secular historians.

that nothing worthy of remembrance may escape notice through concealment under neglectful and slack indolence and its neighbour oblivion. I will begin with divine assistance in the lead, from the point where the aforementioned terminated their narrative.

1 The impiety of Julian had only just been washed away by the blood of the martyrs and the madness of Arius fettered in the shackles forged at Nicaea; furthermore, Eunomius and Macedonius had been shipwrecked in the Bosporus and shattered at the city of Constantine;[7] and now the holy Church had wiped away the fresh filth and was being brought back to her ancient beauty, clad and adorned in golden raiment,[8] and was being united with the beloved bridegroom.[9] Unable to tolerate this, the Devil, the hater of good, caused a certain foreign and quite different war to arise against us, despising the idolatry that was trampled underfoot and shoving aside the servile insanity of Arius.[10] And whereas he was

7 Although Julian (361–3) attempted to avoid the creation of new martyrs, who would only strengthen Christianity, it was impossible to restrain pagan anger or prevent Christian enthusiasts from provoking violent reactions; hence there were several martyrdoms, for which see Sozomen v.4, 7–11, 20; Socrates iii.2, 12, 15, 19; Theodoret, *EH* iii.7, 11, 15, 17–19. The anti-Arian shackles forged at Nicaea (325), i.e. the *homoousian* creed which upheld the perfect equality of God the Father and God the Son, were only firmly imposed during the reign of Theodosius I (378–95), especially as a result of the second Ecumenical Council, which was held at Constantinople in May 381.

Eunomius, Bishop of Cyzicus, was one of the leading exponents of the Anomoean position that the Son, as part of the created order, was fundamentally different from (unlike: ἀνόμοιος) the Father: see Sozomen vi.26. Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople (342–60), although ultimately expelled from his see at the behest of the Arianizing Constantius, was another neo-Arian or semi-Arian; he was associated with the anti-Nicene position that the essence of the Son was *like* (but not the same as) that of the Father (i.e. *homoiousios* not *homoousios*), and his name was posthumously attached to the doctrine of the Pneumatomachi who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Both Eunomius and Macedonius were among the heretics specifically condemned at Constantinople: see, for example, Theodoret, *EH* v.9.19. For the image of shipwreck, cf. 1 Timothy 1.19.

8 Psalm 45.9.

9 The bridegroom of the Song of Songs was regularly interpreted as an allegory for Christ as husband of the Church, or of the individual soul: cf., for example, Jerome *Letters* 22.24–6, and in general, see Murray, *Symbols* 131–42.

10 Evagrius has modelled his analysis on Theodoret, *EH* i.2: the Devil, upset by the serene voyage of the post-Constantinian Church but recognizing that the folly of idolatry was exposed, did not dare to attack directly and so discovered some vainglorious Christians who could be exploited to seduce others into error. Cf. Eusebius, *EH* iv.7.1–2: Satan attacks the Church through the innovation of heresy; Socrates, i.22.14–15: Satan, eager to ambush

afraid to assault the faith like an enemy, since it was fortified by so many holy Fathers and he had been deprived of much of his force while besieging it, still like a thief he pursued the deed, devising anew certain questions and answers and in a novel fashion bringing the errant towards Judaism,[11] not comprehending – the wretch – the reverse that would come from there as well: for what he previously held as his only adversary he now cherished and embraced, and not so that in his arrogance he might dislodge the entirety but that he might manage to counterfeit even one word.[12] While frequently grovelling in his own wickedness he

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the Church when the good are flourishing, creates Manichaeism as the enemy of the Church; Gregory of Antioch, *On the Baptism of Christ* ii.10 (*PG* 88, col. 1881): the Devil stitches together pretexts to destroy the peace of the Church.

Arius' heresy was servile since he argued that Christ was merely an instrument of God.

11 It was common to castigate Christological opponents of Nicene orthodoxy as Judaizers, on the grounds that, as Subordinationists, they recognized God the Father but failed to pay proper honour to God the Son: e.g. Socrates ii.19; Theodoret, *EH* i.4.5. For Nestorius as a Jew, see Evagrius i.2; *Koptische Akten* 52–4; Severus, *Letters* 25, pp. 233, 236–7; 31, p. 264; *Life* of Sabas 38, p. 128.6–8; further references in Allen, *Evagrius* 75 n. 9. For Chalcedonians as the new Jews: Athanasius, *Life* of Severus, p. 680; Severus, *Letter* i.60, p. 184. Nestorians used the same accusation against their opponents: Barhadbeshabba 21, p. 533; 22, p. 535; 27, p. 564.

12 This has been described by Festugière as an extraordinarily difficult passage. Two main issues have to be resolved, the identity of Satan's former adversary whom he now embraces, and the word which is counterfeited. One possibility is to identify the word as *homoousios* ('consubstantial') which by the addition of a single letter became the rival formula *homoiousios* ('of similar substance'): this is the view of BEL 256 n. 2, and by implication Allen, *Evagrius* 75–6. In this case the former adversary would be the Arians, or neo-Arians, but the last sentence of the chapter explicitly envisages that the Devil's initiative will be covered in Evagrius' narrative, which does not apply to the *homoiousian* dispute.

Festugière adopts a more complex solution (201 n. 5): the former adversary is the word *homoousios*, and he translates 'The word which previously he regarded as pre-eminently his enemy'. The Devil embraced this term because of its ambivalence, since, if Christ was completely consubstantial with God, He could not also be consubstantial with mankind: this dilemma led either to the position of Nestorius, where the consubstantiality of Christ and God was compromised, or to that of Eutyches where that of Christ and mankind was denied. For Festugière, the counterfeited word refers forward to the Chalcedonian–Monophysite dispute which was produced by the Devil's acceptance of the principle of consubstantiality. This solution is certainly preferable, since the chapter has a clear chronological progression: the Nicene disputes with Arians and neo-Arians have already been resolved by the Council of Constantinople, after which the Devil has to look around for a new device to undermine the Church; he picks on Nestorius, whose heresy inspired the disputes which culminated in Chalcedon.

contrived a variation even of a letter, which on the one hand tends towards the same meaning, but still in such a way that he might separate the thought from the utterance so that both might not harmoniously offer to God the same confession and praise.[13] How each of these things was done and where each has ended up, I shall set out at the appropriate times, interweaving in addition anything else which I may have been able to discover which is incidental but worthy of narration, and laying aside the narrative at the point where it may please our benevolent God.

[7] 2 Nestorius, then, the tongue that fought God, the second sanhedrin of Caiaphas,[14] the factory of blasphemy, in whom Christ is again a subject of contract and sale, by having His natures divided and torn apart – He who, according to Scripture,[15] even on the Cross itself did not have any of His bones broken, nor His continuously woven tunic

One difficulty for Festugière's proposal is that Evagrius has not mentioned the term *homoousios*, or indeed anything so doctrinally specific; in his translation Festugière had to supply 'Le mot . . .', but this solution threatens to introduce an ambiguity between this word and the one which the Devil manages to counterfeit. I would prefer to identify the adversary as the Jews, who were the Devil's sole enemy before the coming of Christ but whom the Devil now cherishes and embraces to the extent of attempting to seduce Christians towards Judaism; Nestorius, widely regarded as an advocate of Judaism (see n. 11 above), was therefore the Devil's ambassador. Judaism is mentioned immediately before the introduction of the 'only adversary', so the connection is easy.

As Festugière recognized, the counterfeited word has to be interpreted in the light of the next sentence, as an anticipation of the Chalcedonian–Monophysite dispute between ἐν ('in') and ἐκ ('out of'), for which cf. Evagrius ii.5, pp. 52:27–53:20, and the next note. The Devil was no longer able to dislodge Christians from the entirety of their faith (cf. Theodoret, *EH* i.2), in that both sides in the Christological dispute acknowledged the same God and Christ. Although the attempt introduced dissension into the Christian community, the overall result was a failure for the Devil since Nestorius was ousted and his followers exiled, while the competing communities of Chalcedonians and Monophysites both acknowledged the same God. For the use of the terminology of counterfeiting and forgery with reference to heresy, cf., for example, Socrates ii.45.2; *ACO* I.i.3, pp. 14:23, 69:17, etc.

13 Cf. Evagrius ii.5, pp. 52:27–53:20, where Evagrius argues for the identity of meaning of the Chalcedonian and Monophysite formulae, but laments the fact that the adversaries prefer to die rather than agree about the glorification of God.

14 Caiaphas, the Jewish high priest responsible for the condemnation of Christ, was an apposite parallel for Nestorius as patriarch (428–31). According to Severus (*Letters* 39, p. 300) Anastasius had used the analogy to describe the neo-Arian Council of Constantinople in 360.

15 John 19.24, 36.

torn apart by the murderers of God[16] – Nestorius thrust aside and rejected the term 'Mother of God', which had already been forged by the all-Holy Spirit through many elect Fathers;[17] he counterfeited, forged in its place and stamped afresh the term 'Mother of Christ',[18] and in turn filled the church with countless wars, flooding it with kindred bloodshed. Because of this, I think that I shall not be at a loss for a sensible arrangement of the narrative, and that I will reach its conclusion, if indeed, with the assistance of Christ who is God over all, it should take its preface from the impious blasphemy of Nestorius. The war of the Churches began as follows.[19]

A certain Anastasius was a priest of unorthodox judgement, an ardent admirer of Nestorius and the Judaizing beliefs of Nestorius, who had also been the latter's companion when he set out for his

16 The charge of rending Christ's seamless garment as an image for heresies and schisms is common: applied to Nestorius, Zachariah iii.1, p. 41, and cf. Theodoret, *EH* i.4.5, p. 10:1; to Arians, Athanasius, *Life* of Severus p. 631; to a possible schism, Schwartz, *Sammlungen* 64:11–14 (letter of Pope Felix to the Emperor Zeno); to Monophysites, *Life* of Golinduch 18, p. 166:12–15.

17 Use of the term Theotokos ('Mother of God') can be traced back to the fourth century (Gregory, *Vox* 98, with 122 n. 86; Starowieyski, 'Titre'), and had become an issue for discussion by the early fifth (Holum, *Empresses* 138–9; McGuckin, *Cyril* 22 and index *s.v.*); this was a time of increasing attention to the status of the Virgin Mary as a patron and ideal for monastic communities, and in particular for the Augusta Pulcheria who had vowed herself to virginity.

18 For Nestorius' justification of the term, see i.7 with n. 55 below; also n. 23. Nestorius did not regard the term Theotokos as heretical, but wanted to avoid the contentions that it raised (*Bazaar* 99). Socrates, accepting that Nestorius did not deny the divinity of Christ, said that he appeared to be scared of the term Theotokos as if it were some terrible phantom (vii.32); this hints at what, apparently, was a concern of Nestorius, namely that use of the term Theotokos might lead people to treat the Virgin as a goddess. For detailed discussion of his Christology, see McGuckin, *Cyril* ch. 2.

19 Evagrius is unable to avoid some overlap with Socrates, whose narrative extended to 439 and mentioned Nestorius in its later chapters. On the basis of his own reading of Nestorius' writings, Socrates stated that he was not guilty of the popular charges of heresy levelled against him and in particular did not share the view of Paul of Samosata that Christ was a mere man; on the other hand, Socrates did convict Nestorius of an ignorant folly which occasioned considerable discord in the churches (vii.32). From the much longer perspective of Evagrius, the heresy of Nestorius was an accepted fact, and its establishment a necessary preliminary to the crucial record of the Council of Chalcedon, so he had to cover the same events as Socrates. For clear discussion of the complex developments between Nestorius' appointment (April 428) and the Council of Ephesus (431), see McGuckin, *Cyril* 20–53.

bishopric,[20] at the time when Nestorius encountered Theodore at Mopsuestia and was diverted from piety after hearing his teachings – as Theodulus has written in a letter about these things.[21] When Anastasius was making an address to the Christ-loving populace in the church of Constantinople, he dared to say in public: 'Let no one call Mary Mother of God. For Mary was mortal. And it is impossible for God to have been born of a mortal.'[22] When the Christ-loving populace was displeased by this and properly regarded the address as blasphemy, Nestorius, the teacher of the blasphemy, not only did not obstruct him and support the correct doctrines, but on the contrary gave weight very directly to what had been said by Anastasius by insisting quite contentiously on these things.[23] And at certain points **[8]** inserting and

20 Cf. Socrates vii.32; Theophanes attributes the following anti-Marian sermon to Nestorius' *syncellus*, or cell-mate, whom he appears to distinguish from the Anastasius who came from Alexandria as a supporter of the patriarch (88:15, 24–8; de Boor).

21 Cyril of Alexandria, writing to Sucessus of Diocaesarea, blamed the writings of Diodorus (Bishop of Tarsus, 378–90) for misleading Nestorius (*ACO* I.i.6, pp. 151–2). Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia (392–428), had been a pupil of Diodorus and was recognized as the leading exponent of Antiochene theology in which the humanity of Christ was emphasized: see Young, *Nicaea* 199–213; Wallace-Hadrill, *Antioch* 119–26. Barhadbeshabba, ch. 20 p. 519, records that Nestorius broke his journey at Mopsuestia for two days to converse with Theodore.

W. Ensslin plausibly identified this Theodulus with a pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia who is mentioned in Gennadius, *De Vir. Illust.* 91 and Marc. Com. *s.a.* 478: Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* (2) 10 (1934), 1967–8 *s.v.* Theodulos 28.

22 Cyril reported to Pope Celestine that a bishop Dorotheus (probably Dorotheus of Marcianopolis) had proclaimed from the episcopal throne at Constantinople, 'If anyone says that Mary is Theotokos, let him be anathema.' (*ACO* I.i.5, p. 11:6–10).

23 According to Socrates (vii.32.4) Nestorius delivered a series of sermons in justification of Anastasius' position; there is a Latin version by Marius Mercator of parts of these, or similar, sermons on the Theotokos (*ACO* I.v, pp. 28–46), in which Nestorius argued for the term Christotokos (pp. 40:24–41:19, 45:6–12) or the cleverly assonant term Theodochos ('receiver of God': pp. 30:27; 37:10–17). Contention arose when Proclus, Bishop of Cyzicus, who had been one of Nestorius' rivals for the see of Constantinople, delivered a sermon in praise of the Virgin on the Sunday before Christmas 428 (the text survives: *ACO* I.i.1, pp. 103–7); Nestorius responded cautiously, but eventually said that to state that God was born of Mary, without further qualification, would be susceptible to criticism by pagans who would decline to worship a divinity who was born and died (Loofs, *Nestoriana* 337–8 = *ACO* I.v, pp. 37:38–38:4). For this reconstruction, see Holum, *Empresses* 155–6; also Barkhuizen, 'Proclus'.

Rufus, *Plerophories* 1, reports that Nestorius was miraculously afflicted by a demon while pronouncing his blasphemies; *ibid.* 35–6, for Nestorius being challenged during church services.

interpolating his own opinions too, and disgorging the venom of his soul, he attempted even more blasphemous teaching so that to the peril of his own life he uttered, 'The one who became a two-month, or three-month old object I would not call God.'[24] This affair is clearly recorded in Socrates and the first Synod at Ephesus.[25]

3 When Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria of celebrated memory, took issue with these things through private communications, Nestorius in turn resisted these, was not persuaded by the writings of Cyril nor by those of the bishop of elder Rome, Celestine, and poured forth his own vomit on the whole Church, without consideration for anything.[26] With the consent of the younger Theodosius, who was directing the sceptres of the East, he reasonably requested that the first Synod at Ephesus be convened, and imperial letters went to Cyril and those who everywhere presided over the holy churches.[27] He declared the Holy Pentecost, on

24 This statement is a variant on the notion that it was not possible for a divinity to experience birth or death: an eternal and immutable God could not go through the processes of growing up or ageing. According to Socrates (vii.34.5) and Theophanes (90:8–10), Nestorius uttered these words to the hostile bishops at Ephesus, adding, 'And for this reason I am cleansed of your blood. And from now on I will not return to you again.' Theodotus of Ankara attested that he had heard Nestorius say this at Ephesus, some time before the Council, along with other criticisms of those who spoke of a suckling, or of birth from a virgin in connection with God. Cf. n. 37 below.

25 Socrates vii.32, 34; relevant documents are gathered in *ACO* I.

26 The exchange between Cyril and Nestorius was read out at the Council of Ephesus (*ACO* I.i.1, nos. 2–6), and that between Celestine and Nestorius also survives (*ACO* I.i.1, nos. 10–11 [Greek]; I.ii, nos. 2–4 [Latin]). Tension between Nestorius and Cyril had arisen when Nestorius received an appeal from certain Egyptian opponents of Cyril, but this was rapidly engulfed by the Christological issue which Cyril may have exploited to divert attention from the challenge to his local control. For discussion, see Grillmeier, *Christ* I. 473–83; McGuckin, *Cyril* ch. 1.2; Young, *Nicaea* 213–29; Holum, *Empresses* 147–65; Gregory, *Vox* 88–100; G. Bardy in Fliche and Martin IV. 163–77.

27 The emperor Theodosius II, who had ultimately been responsible for the selection of Nestorius as patriarch, was still a firm supporter, although his sister Pulcheria strongly favoured Cyril. Candidianus, *comes domesticorum*, was sent to Ephesus to maintain order, but not to participate in proceedings; he too was a supporter of Nestorius, which indicates the way in which the Council was intended to decide. The selection of Ephesus as site of the meeting, however, was to operate decisively against the interests of Nestorius. In his formal summons to the Council, Theodosius explained the decision on grounds of ease of access and availability of supplies (*ACO* I.i.3, p. 31:19–22), but the Marian associations of the city were probably equally important (Holum, *Empresses* 164; McGuckin, *Cyril* 40–1). There was a tradition of competition between the bishops of Ephesus and Constantinople for

which the life-giving Spirit came to visit us, as the appointed day of the gathering.[28]

And since Ephesus was no great distance from the city of Constantine, Nestorius arrived before everyone else. Cyril too and his associates had appeared before the publicized day. But John, the prelate of the Antiochene church, together with his associates, failed to make the designated day,[29] not deliberately, as appears from his numerous justifications, but because he was unable to assemble his associates with great speed. For from what was formerly Antioch, but is now referred to as Theopolis,[30] their cities are distant a journey of twelve days for a swift traveller, and for some even more, while the city of Ephesus is about thirty days distant from that of Antioch:[31] John asserted that he could never

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influence in the province of Asia, and Nestorius had already shown a willingness to interfere in Asia during his persecution of heretics (Holum, *Empresses* 164; Gregory, *Vox* 102), so that the current bishop, Memnon, was a natural ally for Cyril. Nestorius' supporters belatedly realized their error over the location, and suggested Constantinople or Nicomedia as alternative sites: *ACO* I.i.5, pp. 130:29–34, 134:19–28.

28 7 June 431. It was presumably hoped that the Holy Spirit would also inspire the assembled bishops. For a clear narrative of events, see McGuckin, *Cyril* 53–107.

29 The arrival of the delegations is described by Socrates (vii.34.2–3); Juvenal of Jerusalem also arrived late, but only by five days.

30 Antioch was renamed in 528, after a sequence of natural disasters (Malalas 443:16–17).

31 John and the Eastern bishops, who were strong supporters of Nestorius, might have been suspected of delay in order to undermine the local ascendancy achieved by Cyril and Memnon, and were later accused of devious motives in the report of the Council sent to Pope Celestine (*ACO* I.i.3, p. 6:8–11). While en route John had written to Cyril, stating that he had been on the road for 30 days and suggesting that he had a further five or six days to go; he was travelling as fast as the strength of his bishops and their pack animals allowed (*ACO* I.i.1, no. 30). This letter reached Cyril on 21 June, being delivered by two of John's party, Alexander of Apamea and Alexander of Hierapolis, who were made to say that John authorized the Council to proceed if there should be any further delay (*ACO* I.i.3, p. 6:17–21): John had presumably meant any delay beyond the additional five or six days of his journey, as is suggested by the reference to a further four days' wait in the formal objection which Candidianus made when the Council convened (*ACO* I.iv, p. 32:17–21), but the bishops' statement was twisted against John in the report to Celestine and used to justify an immediate start. The Eastern bishops subsequently defended their late arrival in a letter to Theodosius; they had travelled overland, but as fast as possible and without any breaks, and the journey had taken 40 days (*ACO* I.i.5, no. 153; = *Bazaar* 269). Evagrius presumably extracted the notion of a journey of 30 days from John's letter, and then used his own experience of episcopal travel in the diocese of Antioch to provide the additional twelve days for local assembly.

himself have arrived on the appointed day if his associates celebrated the so-called New Sunday in their own sees.[32]

4 And so when the appointed day had passed by fifteen days, **[9]** those who had been assembled for this – since the Easterners were not coming, or even if they did only after a considerable delay – convened under the direction of the venerable Cyril, who occupied the place of Celestine, namely the bishopric of elder Rome, as has been said.[33] Accordingly they summoned Nestorius, inviting him to oppose his accusers. Next, when Nestorius, after promising to be present on the following day if it should be necessary, scorned the promises, and that too after being summoned three times when he did not attend, those who had gathered took the enquiry in hand.[34] And Memnon, the prelate of the Ephesian church reviewed the passage of days since the appointed day, which happened to be sixteen in number,[35] and there were read the letters of the venerable Cyril which were composed by him to Nestorius, and indeed those of Nestorius to Cyril himself, while that holy letter of the supreme Celestine, the one that was to Nestorius himself, was also

32 The Sunday after Easter: Lampe *s.v.* κυριακός 4.d.v. The Eastern bishops did not mention Evagrius' explanation, but excused their delay through a combination of famine, popular unrest and torrential rain which threatened to flood Antioch, all of which had detained them in the city for a few days (*ACO* I.i.5, no. 153; p. 125:18–21).

33 21 June 431. Cyril, whose status as Celestine's deputy is recorded in the list of participants at the Council (*ACO* I.i.2, p. 3), would have known from the recent letter of John of Antioch that the eastern contingent was close at hand, as indeed Nestorius and his supporters among the bishops protested (*ACO* I.i.5, p. 14:2–6; = *Bazaar* 107). Cyril asserted that an immediate start was necessary to avoid sickness among the assembled bishops (*ACO* I.i.2, pp. 8:29–9:5; cf. *ACO* I.i.3, p. 6:11–15), but he had to overrule the protests of the emperor's representative, Candidianus, and a formal plea by 68 bishops, who urged that it was essential to wait for all bishops to be present (*Bazaar* 106–8; *ACO* I.i.5, pp. 119:29–120:3). In spite of the presence of some imperial troops, Ephesus was under the control of gangs assembled by Cyril and Memnon (*ACO* I.i.5, pp. 121:21–31, 127:36–128:13; *Bazaar* 134, 266–7); in a letter to the clergy of Constantinople Memnon countered by accusing the officials Candidianus and Irenaeus (*comes Orientis*) of using their soldiers to intimidate the bishops, and gathering a horde of rural inhabitants of church properties to prevent supplies from reaching the city (*ACO* I.i.3, p. 46:7–17).

34 The protracted process, which began on 21 June and continued after the official start of the Council on 22 June, is recorded at *ACO* I.i.2, pp. 9:9–12:27.

35 *ACO* I.i.2, p. 8:24–8. Memnon was responding to a query from Firmus of Cappadocian Caesarea.

registered.[36] Theodotus, Bishop of Ancyra, and Acacius, who directed the throne of Melitene, spoke once more the blasphemous phrases which Nestorius belched forth publicly upon the city of Ephesus;[37] many sayings of holy and elect Fathers which expounded the correct and unblemished faith were interwoven too, and alongside there were also inserted various foolish blasphemies of the impious Nestorius.[38] After this the Holy Synod made the following pronouncement, word for word:[39]

> In addition to the other matters, since the most honoured Nestorius has neither been willing to reply to our summons nor received the most holy and pious bishops sent by us, we have of necessity proceeded to the investigation of the impieties done by him; and having found him to be thinking and pronouncing impiously, on the basis both of his letters and of his writings which have indeed been read out, and of what he spoke recently **[10]** at this metropolitan city, which has been confirmed by witnesses, of necessity compelled by the canons and by the letter of our most holy Father and fellow-minister Celestine, the bishop of the Roman Church, with much weeping we have proceeded to this grim sentence: 'Accordingly the one who has been blasphemed by him, our Lord Jesus Christ, has ordained through the present holy Synod that the same Nestorius is estranged from the episcopal dignity and every priestly gathering.'

36 The Council opened with a reading of the Nicene Creed (*ACO* I.i.2, pp. 12:29–13:7), after which Cyril's second letter to Nestorius was read and accorded 125 separate attestations of support as being in conformity with Nicene doctrine (pp. 13:8–31:5). The response of Nestorius was then read, and it received 35 condemnations (pp. 31:6–35:29). Nestorius was then anathematized (pp. 35:30–36:7), before the Council proceeded to a reading of Celestine's letter and Cyril's third letter to Nestorius (p. 36:8–25). Nestorius provides a lengthy refutation of Cyril's doctrinal position, and defence of his own, at *Bazaar* 141–85. For the growing importance of documents in Church Councils, see Lim, *Disputation* ch. 7.

37 *ACO* I.i.2, p. 38:4–30. These blasphemies included the statement about the impossibility of a two- or three-month-old God. Nestorius did not deny such statements, but insisted that his comments had been taken completely out of context: *Bazaar* 136–41. Cf. n. 24 above.

38 A dossier of patristic extracts was then read out (*ACO* I.i.2, pp. 39:1–45:3: New Testament, Athanasius, Julius and Felix of Rome, Theophilus of Alexandria, Cyprian, Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa), followed by selections from Nestorius' works which demonstrated his departure from accepted doctrine (pp. 45:4.-52:11). Nestorius presented a defence of his writings at *Bazaar* 186–265.

39 On 22 June: *ACO* I.i.2, p. 54:17–28. Minor textual variants are noted by Allen, *Evagrius* 77–8.

5 Accordingly, after this most lawful and just sentence, Bishop John of Antioch and his associate priests came to the city of Ephesus, five days later than the deposition. And after convening all his associates he deposed Cyril and Memnon.[40] Through accusations presented by Cyril and Memnon to the Synod that had been assembled with them – even if Socrates in ignorance narrated otherwise – John was summoned in order to make a defence of the deposition which he had made. Since he did not come to the meeting after three summons had been made, Cyril and Memnon were absolved of the deposition, while John and his associate priests were deprived of the holy communion and of all priestly authority.[41] And at first Theodosius did not accept the deposition of Nestorius; but later, after recognizing the blasphemy of that man, he once more employed pious words to both Cyril and John the bishops;

40 Divergent reports on the Council's proceedings had already been sent to the emperor by Cyril, Nestorius and Candidianus, before John and the Easterners eventually arrived at Ephesus on 26 June (five days later, counting inclusively). According to Socrates (vii.34.8) Nestorius' partisans had already met to depose Cyril and Memnon, but John immediately convened his supporters in the presence of Candidianus, who reported his unsuccessful attempts to prevent the Council from convening on 22 June. John's followers reviewed the conduct of the earlier Council, and challenged the orthodoxy of Cyril's Twelve Chapters (a list of twelve heretical positions subject to anathema which Cyril appended to his third letter to Nestorius; McGuckin, *Cyril* 44–6, 83–4). Consequently Cyril and Memnon were deposed, and all who subscribed to Cyril's Twelve Chapters were anathematized. These proceedings were subscribed by 43 bishops (*ACO* I.i.5, pp. 119:1–124:10), as opposed to the 200 or more who had supported Cyril.

41 Theodosius' immediate reaction to the Council had been to reprimand its haste and disorder, and to order all bishops to remain at Ephesus pending the resumption of deliberations under a new imperial official; this letter, written on 29 June, was brought to Ephesus on 1 July by the *agens in rebus* Palladius (*ACO* I.i.3, no. 83). Cyril, however, received encouragement from the arrival of the legates of Pope Celestine, and at sessions on 10 and 11 July the condemnation of Nestorius was endorsed (*ACO* I.i.3, no. 106). Cyril then turned his attention to John and his supporters, who were summoned to attend sessions of the Council on 16 and 17 July; on their refusal to respond to the customary summons, John and 33 named bishops were deposed (*ACO* I.i.3, nos. 87–91).

Socrates' account of the immediate aftermath to the Council (vii.34.8–13) diverges from the *acta* at various points: Socrates states that Cyril and Memnon were deposed by a meeting of Nestorius' supporters, to which John gave full agreement after his arrival; Cyril and Juvenal of Jerusalem then combined against John and deposed him; after the Council concluded, supposedly on 28 June, the bishops returned to their sees and John assembled his supporters to depose Cyril. It is unclear which error Evagrius has in mind, but it is perhaps the mention of Juvenal rather than Memnon as the opponent of John (while Cyril and Memnon launched their accusations, Juvenal appears to have acted in a presiding role at the Council on 17 June).

they came to an agreement with each other, and ratified the deposition of Nestorius.[42]

6 After Paul the bishop of Emesa came to the city of Alexandria, he preached in the church the sermon concerning this which is in circulation, on the occasion when Cyril too, after highly praising John's letter, wrote as follows in these words.[43]

42 This sentence slides easily over a period of intense debate, first at Constantinople and then in the diocese of Antioch, which lasted until autumn 432 (see McGuckin, *Cyril* 101–12). Although Theodosius strongly supported Nestorius and condemned the haste of the Council proceedings (see previous note), he was opposed by his sister Pulcheria whose support Cyril was cultivating through lavish bribery (*ACO* I.iv, nos. 293–4; cf. Holum, *Empresses* 164–71), and Dalmatius, the powerful head of the monastic communities at the capital. The new imperial commissioner at Ephesus, the *comes* John, who arrived in August, announced the deposition and arrest of Nestorius, Cyril and Memnon. When these tactics failed to prompt a reconciliation, delegates from each side were summoned to present their case to the emperor in the Rufinianae Palace at Chalcedon, away from the pressures of popular opinion in the capital; this meeting on 11 September failed to reach a conclusion, and Theodosius then dissolved the Council, leaving the positions of Cyril and Memnon unresolved.

Nestorius had already asked Theodosius for permission to retire as patriarch and return to his monastery at Antioch; this had been granted in early September, and was recognized by his supporters as an admission of defeat (*ACO* I.i.7, nos. 55, 65). Theodosius grudgingly allowed Memnon and Cyril to return to their sees, but was then a prime mover in the search for reconciliation: discussions continued for the next twelve months to secure the agreement of the Easterners to the deposition of Nestorius and to establish the status of Cyril's Twelve Chapters; Eastern support for Nestorius gradually wavered and Cyril, while conceding the orthodoxy of the Antiochene creed, managed to avoid condemnation of his Twelve Chapters. For discussion, see Grillmeier, *Christ* I. 488–501; McGuckin, *Cyril* 107–22. Theodosius' letter to John is extant (*ACO* I.i.4, no. 120), but not that to Cyril.

43 Grammatically the sense runs over the chapter break, since the opening passage of Chapter 6 lacks a main verb ('preached' is in fact a participle, i.e. 'having preached'). Both sets of chapter headings (translated above, at the start of the Book) distinguish between the proceedings at Ephesus and the action of Paul of Emesa, but the first list at least (preserved in *Baroccianus* 142) follows the received chapter breaks. There is no problem about the sense of the passage, and the issue is merely a reminder that our current chapter divisions may not always correspond to Evagrius' organization of the text.

Paul of Emesa arrived in Alexandria in December 432, bringing a letter from John which contained a profession of faith (*ACO* I.i.4, no. 123). Paul preached three times at Alexandria, once on peace (*ACO* I.i.7, pp. 173:27–174:3), and then two sermons in the Great Church on 25 December and 1 January in which he stressed Mary's status as Theotokos (*ACO* I.i.4, nos. 124–5). Evagrius provides a close copy of extracts from Cyril's reply (*ACO* I.i.4, no. 127; see Allen, *Evagrius* 78 for some minor variants). After Paul's return from Alexandria, John issued a circular letter to announce his acceptance of reunion with Cyril (*ACO* I.i.4, no. 130). See further McGuckin, *Cyril* 112–16.

> **[11]** Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult;[44] for the interposed wall of partition is broken[45] and the source of grief has ceased, and the means of all discord has been destroyed, since Christ the Saviour of all of us has adjudicated peace for His Churches and the emperors who are most pious and pleasing to God have summoned us to this. They, becoming most excellent imitators of ancestral piety, preserve the correct faith safe and unshaken in their own souls, while they make especial their concern for the holy Churches, so that they may both have widespread glory unto eternity and proclaim their own reign most famous. To them too does the Lord of Powers himself distribute blessings with a generous hand, and enable them to overcome their adversaries while freely bestowing victory. For he would not lie who says: 'I live, says the Lord, because I shall glorify those who glorify me.'[46] Accordingly when my lord, my most pious brother and fellow-minister Paul came to Alexandria, we were filled with gladness, and most naturally, since such a man was acting as mediator and had chosen to engage in labours beyond his power, in order to conquer the envy of the Devil and unite what was divided, to remove the intervening snares and garland with concord and peace the Churches on our side and on your side.[47]

And further on:

> That the disunity within the Church has become completely superfluous and without good cause, we are now fully satisfied because my lord, the most pious Paul the bishop, has brought a document which contains a faultless confession of faith and has confirmed that it was drawn up **[12]** both by your holiness and by the most pious bishops there. And the document was like this, and was incorporated in this letter in these words: 'Concerning the Mother of God',[48] and the rest. Having read these holy expressions of yours and finding that we ourselves hold such thoughts too – for there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism[49] –

44 Psalms 96.11.
45 Ephesians 2.14.
46 1 Samuel 2.30.
47 *ACO* I.i.4, pp. 15:24–16:11.
48 *ACO* I.i.4, pp. 16:21–17:1.
49 Ephesians 4.5.

> we glorified God the master of the universe, rejoicing with each other that the churches on your side and on our side possess a faith which is in accord with the divinely inspired Scriptures and tradition of our holy Fathers.[50]

And so anyone who diligently wants to grasp what was done at that time can read this.

7 How Nestorius was cast out, or what happened to him after this, or how he ended his life on earth, and the recompenses he encountered because of his blasphemy, are not revealed by those who narrated this.[51] And they would have perished, completely faded away and been swallowed down by time without being even faintly heard, if I had not happened upon a book of Nestorius which provides the narrative of these things.[52]

Nestorius himself, then, the father of the blasphemy who did not place his house upon the firm foundation, but built upon the sand, which indeed

50 *ACO* I.i.4, pp. 17:21–5.

51 Nestorius died sometime after the death of Theodosius on 28 July 450, to which he alludes in *Bazaar* 369, and after it became clear that Dioscorus of Alexandria was likely to be punished by the new regime of Marcian and Pulcheria. But *Bazaar* shows no knowledge of the Council of Chalcedon in October 451, and it is likely that Nestorius died before information about it reached Upper Egypt.

52 Of Evagrius' fifth-century predecessors only Socrates had dealt at any length with the deposition of Nestorius, and he did not report his fate after his return to Antioch in 431. On 3 August 435 Theodosius had ordered the destruction of all Nestorius' works (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.5.66), and Evagrius has reason to be proud of the information which he discovered: cf. n. 5 above for the theme of preserving information from oblivion.

Loofs, *Nestoriana* 203–4, followed by Abramowski (*Untersuchungen* 29–32) included the next two paragraphs among the fragments of the work known as Nestorius' apologia, or *Tragedy*; it is otherwise attested in a 13th-century catalogue of Nestorian writings. Abramowski also speculated that, because of the nature of the extracts, Evagrius came across these Nestorian writings on a visit to Constantinople and could not consult them directly when composing this chapter (*op. cit.* 15; accepted by Allen, *Evagrius* 79); Evagrius, however, has included quite substantial quotes from Nestorius' letters, and these are focused on the main theme of this chapter, namely the proof of Nestorius' heresy from the exceptional punishment to which his own words bore witness. Nestorius' condemned works probably survived at various places in the East (cf. *Pratum Spirituale* 46 for a Palestinian monk discovering two Nestorian works at the end of a scroll), though without necessarily being easy for Evagrius to consult. They should, for example, have been available at Nisibis, which became the centre for the teaching of Antiochene theology in the tradition of Theodore of Mopsuestia, after pressure on the School of Edessa in the 470s and 480s forced the retreat of its main teachers and finally its closure: see Vööbus, *School* chs. 1–2.

was quickly dissolved in accordance with the parable of the Lord,[53] in addition to other matters of his own choice, wrote in reply to those who accused him of unnecessarily making certain innovations and of being quite wrong to request that the Synod at Ephesus be convened; his defence for his blasphemy was that he had come to this stance out of absolute necessity, since the holy Church was split and some were saying that Mary ought to be called the Mother of Man, others the Mother of God. He said that he conceived the term of Mother of Christ lest one of two wrongs come about, either if people were locked in undying conflict,[54] or **[13]** if one of the parties sided with him he would be deprived of the other.[55]

He indicated that at first Theodosius, out of sympathy for him, did not ratify the expulsion that had come upon him; next, that after certain bishops from both sides were sent to Theodosius from the city of Ephesus, and when he also had petitioned, he was permitted to retire to his own monastery which lies outside the gates of what is now Theopolis;[56]

53 Matthew 7.26–7.

54 The text here has caused problems, for which see the *apparatus* in Bidez–Parmentier and Festugière 208 n. 19, although each concluded that the manuscript tradition was acceptable; their defence gives good sense, and I have followed their interpretations. For the term 'Mother of Christ', see n. 18 above.

55 Although Cyril triumphed at Ephesus and was clearly marshalling support for a direct challenge to Nestorius during 430, the actual initiative for the Council did come from Nestorius (*Bazaar* 286). The latter had received various complaints about Cyril's actions from Egyptian monks (*ACO* I.i.1, p. 111:21–30), and he was confident in the support of Theodosius, who would appoint a suitably favourable secular official to oversee the Council's deliberations. Theodosius had also specified, when summoning the Council on 19 November 430, that only a few reputable bishops should attend from each diocese (*ACO* I.i.1, p. 115:19–26); this restriction would, if enforced, have weakened Cyril, who controlled the large block vote of his Egyptian subordinates.

Nestorius vehemently rebutted the charge that he had made innovations in Christology: his argument was that a fierce dispute already existed between 'Apollinarians', who urged the full divinity of Christ, and 'Photinians', who urged His full humanity; once the rhetoric and labels of public dispute had been stripped away, Nestorius discovered that there was very substantial agreement between the two sides, and so proposed the term Mother of Christ as a compromise (*Bazaar* 97–100; Barhadbeshabba ch. 21, pp. 531–3; cf. n. 18 above); acceptance of the vocabulary of either of the disputing parties would immediately have lost Nestorius the recognition of the other, and so he chose a middle course. Although he discouraged the use of the term Theotokos, he did not regard it as heretical and, when he withdrew to his monastery, he conceded that the term should be used if people wanted (Socrates vii.34.10).

56 For these developments, cf. nn. 41–2 above, adding *Bazaar* 284–6.

it is not named explicitly after Nestorius, but they say it is now called the monastery of Euprepius, which we know in truth to lie outside Theopolis, at a distance of no more than two stades.[57] Nestorius himself, then, says that he spent a period of four years there and received every honour and enjoyed all privileges, and that when Theodosius passed another decree he was banished to the place called Oasis. But the specific occasion he kept secret. For not even when he was here did he abandon his particular blasphemy, so that even John, the prelate of the Antiochene Church, denounced this, and Nestorius was condemned to perpetual exile.[58]

He also wrote another work in dialogue form concerning his exile to Oasis, supposedly concocted for some Egyptian, in which he speaks about these things more fully.[59] But what befell him on account of the blasphemies conceived by him, since he was unable to escape the all-seeing eye, may be gathered from other writings which he produced for

57 A stade is roughly equivalent to a furlong, 200 metres. According to Downey, *Antioch* 465 n. 65, the monastery is not otherwise known; the statement of Evagrius, a local resident, is presumably correct.

58 Cf. Theophanes 91:12–17; Zonaras xiii.22.43–4; Socrates vii.34.10. Theophanes records that John was concerned that many prominent Antiochenes were being seduced by Nestorius' teaching (Barhadbeshabba ch. 27, p. 564, accuses John of jealousy). There was still considerable support for Nestorius among the eastern bishops: the influential Theodoret of Cyrrhus was only coerced most reluctantly in 435 into abandoning him and returning to communion with John; Irenaeus and Photius were banished to the solitude of Petra (*ACO* I.iv, nos. 277–8); Alexander of Hierapolis and fourteen other staunch Nestorians resisted all pressure, and were deposed or punished in various ways in the same year (*ACO* I.iv, no. 279). Apart from Nestorius' banishment, for which Petra was the original location (*ACO* I.i.3, no. 110, p. 67:22–6), Theodosius ordered the destruction of Nestorian works and deprived his followers of the name of Christians, specifying that henceforth they be known as Simonians (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.5.66).

The Great Oasis was a succession of watered areas, about 100 miles long and mostly about 15 miles wide, in the desert 100 miles to the west of the Nile, which for administrative purposes was attached to the Thebaid; Olympiodorus, fr. 32, provides a description, especially of the wells. Cf. Socrates ii.28.11 for the Great Oasis in upper Egypt as a place of banishment; Zonaras xiii.22.43 locates the Oasis in Arabia, probably through conflation with Petra, and calls it a vile place at the mercy of pestilential winds. There were various monasteries at the Oasis, and Nestorius was presumably kept at one of them.

59 A reference to the *Bazaar of Heracleides*, of which much survives; parts of it are cast in the form of a dialogue with a critic named Sophronius. Festugière translated Evagrius' description of the book (διαλεκτικῶς) as 'a work using logical arguments', but dialectical rigour is not characteristic of Nestorius' arguments, which, rather, tend to ramble around the point; BEL translated as 'a formal discourse', though also noting (264 n. 1) that Valesius was perhaps correct to render 'in the manner of a dialogue'.

the controller of the land of the Thebans.[60] For in these it is possible to discover how, since he had not received the requisite punishment, the judgement of God awaited him and encompassed him in captivity, the most piteous misfortune of all.[61] But since he required greater penalties, although he was released by the Blemmyes, among whom indeed he had become a prisoner,[62] after Theodosius had by edicts decided on his return,[63] while moving from one place to another on the borders of the **[14]** land of the Thebans, he laid aside the life here in a way worthy of his own life, after being dashed upon the ground: a second Arius who through his overthrow both depicted and ordained what sort of rewards are fixed for blasphemy against Christ.[64] For both blasphemed in similar fashion against Him, the one calling Him a created being, the other regarding Him as human. When he makes the criticism that the records at Ephesus were not properly compiled, but were wickedly contrived by Cyril with an illegal innovation, I would most gladly say, why ever then was he banished – and that by Theodosius who was sympathetic to him – and after receiving no consideration at all was he condemned to so many banishments, and why did he terminate his life

60 The Thebaid, the administrative district of upper Egypt, was controlled from Hermopolis, about 200 miles to the north-east of the Oasis.

61 Nestorius himself builds up the tragedy of his fate in his letter to the governor quoted below (p. 15:10–13).

62 The Blemmyes lived in the region to the east of the Nile, beyond the southern boundary of Egypt at Philae. Though in receipt of imperial subsidies, they often ravaged across the frontier, in company with the neighbouring Nobades, who were supposed to defend the frontier against them (Procopius, *Wars* i.19.28–33). Evidence for the region is usefully collected in *Font. Hist. Nubiarum* III; see especially 301 (*Life* of Shenute of Atripe), 314 (petition of Bishop Appion), 320 (letter of tribune Viventius). The raid which netted Nestorius will have been similar to the one whose conclusion is recorded in Priscus, fr.27 (*c.* 453), when prisoners and cattle were returned and some compensation paid. Nestorian sources record that Nestorius secured the release of all his fellow captives through the miraculous discovery of a source of water which saved the parched raiders in the desert (Barhadbeshabba, ch. 30, pp. 584–5; *Letter to Cosmas* 13); the Monophysite Shenute miraculously paralysed the hands of Blemmyan soldiers until their king released a recent haul of captives (*FHN* 301).

63 Presumably to the Oasis (from the Oasis according to Festugière 210 n. 23), though a lack of clarity in the emperor's instructions might explain the confusing sequence of moves which were then inflicted on Nestorius.

64 Zachariah (iii.1, p. 42) also makes the comparison with Arius, who had expired in the latrines behind the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople during an attack of diarrhoea, a fate which his doctrinal opponents readily exploited: e.g. Socrates i.38.7–9; Sozomen ii.29–30 (quoting the reaction of Athanasius). Cf. p. 16:23–6 with n. 77 below for a more graphic version of Nestorius' end, and unpleasant death as proof of wickedness.

here in this way?[65] Or, if the judgement made through Cyril and the priests of his party was not divine, since both of them are numbered among the deceased when, as has been said by one of the pagan wise men, 'What is departed is honoured with an unassailable reputation',[66] why ever is the one condemned as blasphemous and an enemy of God, while the other is hymned and proclaimed as a loud-voiced herald and great champion of the correct doctrines? Accordingly, lest we incur an accusation of falsehood, come, let us bring forward Nestorius himself to the centre to provide instruction about these matters. And read for me some parts of the letter, in its very own terms, which was composed by you for the controller of the land of the Thebans:[67]

> On account of the recent occurrences at Ephesus concerning the most holy religion, we inhabit Oasis, which is also Ibis,[68] because of an imperial decree.

And after some intervening expressions, he continues:

> After the aforesaid place was utterly emptied through barbarian captivity and fire and slaughter, we have been released by the barbarians who suddenly took pity on us, I know not how, at the same time as they terrified us with threatening asseverations to flee the region in haste because after them the Mazici were about to take it over without delay.[69] So we have come to the land of the Thebans **[15]** with the remnants of the captives whom the barbarians in pity brought to us, with what intention I cannot say. Now, whereas these have been released to whatever place of

65 Cf. Evagrius i.9, p. 17:13–17, for an incorrect accusation of falsification of records. At Chalcedon the accusation that the scribes of Dioscorus had inaccurately recorded the proceedings of Second Ephesus was upheld (Evagrius ii.18, p. 70:5–19); Memnon or Cyril could have arranged the same at First Ephesus in view of their complete domination of proceedings. But, in the *Bazaar*, Nestorius' repeated complaint is that his teachings have only been partially represented and his opponents' contrary arguments inadequately scrutinized, with Cyril in particular being criticized for duplicity.

66 Thucydides ii.45.

67 As Allen appositely noted (*Evagrius* 80), the ecclesiastical lawyer Evagrius here exploits the terminology of a trial to convict Nestorius. The governor of the Thebaid's name was Andrew, according to Rufus, *Plerophories* 36, p. 84 (*PLRE* II. 87, *s.v.* Andreas 2). Loofs, reasonably, accepted much of the following material as direct quotation from Nestorius (*Nestoriana* 99–100, 198–201).

68 Ibis was the old metropolis of the Great Oasis: Jones, *Cities* 345.

69 *Pratum Spirituale* 112 refers to an undated raid by the Mazici on the monasteries at the Oasis.

habitation each desired, we made ourselves visible on halting at Panopolis:[70] for we were afraid that someone might make our captivity into a lawsuit,[71] by constructing against us either a false accusation of flight or a device of some other accusation, since wickedness is well provided with false accusations of all sorts.[72] Wherefore indeed we request your greatness to consider our captivity in accordance with what is approved by the laws, and not to consign to the evil designs of men a captive who has been delivered into wickedness, lest for all subsequent generations there should be the tragic story that it is better to be a captive of barbarians than a fugitive from the Roman Empire.

And, adding oaths, he asked as follows:

> To report that our transfer from Oasis to here occurred through release by barbarians, so that the disposition concerning us that seems right to God may even now be effected.

From a second letter of his to the same man:

> Whether you reckon this present letter as a friendly one from us to your magnificence, or as a reminder from a father to a son, be patient, I entreat, with the description in it which, though concerning many matters, has been written succinctly by us as far as is possible. Since the Oasis of Ibis has recently been devastated by multitudes when the horde of Nobades overran it. . . .

And further on:

> After these events had occurred thus, I know not on what impulse or what your magnificence obtained as pretext, we were conveyed

70 Panopolis was a nome capital, i.e. the centre of one of the subordinate administrative regions; it was one of the closest cities on the Nile to the Great Oasis, about 100 miles distant, and 100 miles upstream from the governor at Hermopolis. Cf. Rufus, *Plerophories* 36, p. 82, for Nestorius' transfer to Panopolis ('the appropriately named City of Pan' – 'appropriately' because Pan was compounded from two natures) after being ransomed from the Mazici.

71 This could be translated more weakly as 'make trouble out of'.

72 The accusation would have been that Nestorius was attempting to abscond from his place of exile; granted the hostility of most Egyptian monks (e.g. Shenute whose monastery was sufficiently close for the two enemies to have met: Grillmeier, *Christ* II.4 177–8) and clergy towards the enemy of the great Cyril, his fears were probably not without substance. Barhadbeshabba, ch. 30, p. 585, notes that there was a Roman law permitting an exile, who was captured by enemies but escaped, to go wherever he wanted, but that Nestorius chose not to do so.

> from Panopolis by barbarian soldiers to a certain Elephantine, which is on the border of the Thebans' eparchy, being dragged towards it by the aforesaid military unit.[73] And, after being crushed by the greater part of the journey, we again encountered an unwritten instruction from your valour to return to Panopolis. Soundly thrashed by **[16]** the adversities of travelling in a sick and aged body, and crushed in both hand and side we arrived back at Panopolis, at the last gasp, in a manner of speaking, and still lacerated in our adversities by the troubles of pains. But again another written command from your valour winged its way and moved us from Panopolis to its dependent territory.[74] While reckoning that these measures against us would come to a stop, and awaiting the decision concerning us of the gloriously victorious emperors, suddenly yet another command was mercilessly constructed for another exile for us, a fourth one.

And a little later:

> But be satisfied with what has been done, I beseech, and by the decreeing of so many banishments against a single body;[75] and in moderation desist, I beseech, from the investigation into what was reported by your magnificence and by us, through whom it was right that it be made known to our gloriously victorious emperors.[76] These exhortations from us are as from a father to a son. But should you be vexed even now as before, do what you

73 Elephantine, located on the southern boundary of the province of Egypt, was about 200 miles from Panopolis; a military unit was stationed there, so that it would have been a safer place of custody for Nestorius than the isolated Oasis.

74 This presumably means that Nestorius was prohibited from entering the nome capital, but was allocated a specific place of residence in its rural territory.

75 Although Nestorius regarded these successive moves as deliberate official harrassment (cf. the stories in Barhadbeshabba ch. 30, pp. 579–81), which would not have been surprising in the light of the Egyptian Church's attitude towards him, a plausible explanation is that the local governor was in a quandary about how to treat his important captive: the captivity should not be comfortable, but it would be an even greater embarrassment if the captive were to disappear; it was perhaps also necessary to protect Nestorius from his Egyptian enemies. According to Rufus, *Plerophories* 36, p. 84, Nestorius was in the fort at Panopolis when the news of his recall by Marcian arrived in 451.

76 The construction of this sentence is complicated, and is interpreted differently by BEL and Festugière. Nestorius had presumably sent a report on his capture by the Blemmyes to Theodosius, perhaps with some comments on the governor's defence of the province and his own subsequent treatment, and inferred that the brutal marching and countermarching was

> have decided, if indeed no word is more powerful than your decision.

And thus this man even in his writings strikes with his fist and tramples underfoot, reviling both the Empire and the officers – he who had not learnt prudence even from his sufferings. But I have also heard someone who had narrated the final fall of that man, saying that he departed to the greater and immortal judgements against him after his tongue had been eaten away by worms.[77]

8 And so after the demon Nestorius himself Maximianus was entrusted with the bishopric of the city of the celebrated Constantine; under him the Church of Christ obtained complete peace.[78] When he in turn departed from among men Proclus, who had formerly been appointed

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a consequence of his complaint; he now had to plead that the whole matter should be dropped.

77 Zachariah (iii.1, p. 42) records that Nestorius, together with his companion Dorotheus, was recalled from Oasis by Marcian but that, after setting out, he blasphemed against the Theotokos and fell off his mule; his tongue was cut off, his mouth eaten by worms, and he died on the roadway. Variants on this story are recorded in Rufus (*Plerophories* 33, p. 76; 36, pp. 84–5), of which the former is attributed to the (lost) *Ecclesiastical History* of the exiled Patriarch Timothy of Alexandria (cf. *ibid.* 70 for a putrefied tongue as symbol of two-nature Christology, and ps.-Zach. ix.19, p. 268, for Pope Agapetus miraculously perishing with a putrefied tongue). Theophanes refers to the putrefaction of Nestorius' limbs, and especially his tongue, while he was being moved from Oasis to another location (92.3–5; cf. Theodore Lector 153:1–2). Evagrius had described Nestorius as 'the tongue that fought God', so the appropriate part of the body was being punished.

The classic parallel for an opponent of Christians being consumed by worms is the death of the persecutor Galerius: Eusebius, *EH* viii.16.4–17.1; more generally see Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* for this attitude, and cf. Evagrius iii.41, and n. 64 above. According to Rufus, *Plerophories* 33, p. 76, Nestorius' impiety was proved when the earth refused to receive his corpse for burial. By contrast, Nestorians recorded the miracles performed by their leader during life and at his tomb: Barhadbeshabba ch. 30, pp. 584–5; *Letter to Cosmas* 13–14.

78 Evagrius now jumps back two decades to the ordination of Nestorius' successor on 25 October 431. As in 425 and 427 there was rivalry between Philip of Side and Proclus of Cyzicus, but this was sidestepped by the selection of a respected Constantinopolitan ascetic, Maximianus (Patriarch 431–4); he is described by Socrates as lacking eloquence and not being bothered about mundane affairs, but he did restore order and tranquillity to the Church (vii.35, 37.19).

bishop of Cyzicus, took in hand the rudders of the see.[79] And when this man too **[17]** traversed the common journey of mortals, Flavian inherited the throne.[80]

9 Under him there occurred the commotion concerning the impious Eutyches, after a partial Synod had been gathered at Constantinople and Eusebius, who directed the bishopric of Dorylaeum, again presented accusations;[81] even while still a *rhetor*, he had been the first to expose the blasphemy of Nestorius.[82] Now Eutyches, on being summoned, did not

79 Maximianus died on 12 April 434, on the Thursday before Easter. Theodosius had already secured the agreement of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Thessalonica and Rome to the translation of a bishop from one see to another (a practice criticized at Nicaea), and he instructed those bishops present in Constantinople to appoint Proclus at once (Socrates vii.40; Rist, 'Episcopus'; Holum, *Empresses* 182–3). Proclus, ordained bishop of Cyzicus in 426, had never taken up his post because the local inhabitants had already chosen their own candidate (Socrates vii.28); he remained in Constantinople, a prominent figure in the opposition to Nestorius, and delivered a famous sermon on the Theotokos shortly before Christmas 428 (*ACO* I.i.1, no. 19; Holum, *Empresses* 155–7). Socrates praises his learning, as well as his mildness in declining to persecute those whose views differed from his own (vii.41–2).

80 Proclus died in 447, and was succeeded by the like-minded Flavian (447–9); Nestorius describes Flavian as an upright man, but lacking the ability to expound his views in public (*Bazaar* 336).

81 Even before his ordination Flavian had fallen out with Chrysaphius (Evagrius ii.2), the eunuch chamberlain who dominated the imperial court during the last years of Theodosius II (*PLRE* II. 295–7); Chrysaphius was godson of Eutyches, the acknowledged leader of the Constantinopolitan monasteries after the death of Dalmatius, whose fierce anti-Nestorian views he shared to the extent of being accused of Apollinarianism (the heresy that denied the full humanity of Christ, since adherents asserted that Christ lacked a human soul). Nestorian ideas were still being championed by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, but on 16 February 448 Theodosius issued an Edict that repeated the earlier anti-Nestorian measures and deposed Irenaeus, who had been relegated to Petra in 435 but had returned without authorization and become bishop of Tyre (*ACO* I.i.4, no. 138; = *Cod. Iust.* I.1.3); throughout the forthcoming dispute Theodosius and Chrysaphius were to support Eutyches against Flavian.

On 8 November 448 Flavian had summoned a local Synod to consider a dispute at Sardis, but this occasion was exploited by Eusebius of Dorylaeum (see next note) to challenge the doctrinal teachings of Eutyches: *ACO* II.i.1, nos. 223–5; cf. *Bazaar* 336–40; Theophanes 99:28–100:2.

82 *PLRE* II. 430–1, *s.v.* Eusebius 15; Theophanes describes him as a *scholasticus* (barrister) in the Basilica at Constantinople. He had interrupted one of Nestorius' sermons to defend Mary's status as Theotokos (*ACO* I.i.6, pp. 25:40–26:4), and had compiled a list of comparisons between Nestorius' views and those of Paul of Samosata (*ACO* I.i.1, no. 18).

come, and when he did arrive he was caught as follows,[83] for he had said: 'I confess that before the union our Lord originated out of two natures, but after the union I confess one nature.'[84] He said that not even the body of the Lord was consubstantial with us.[85] He was deposed,[86] but when his petitions came to Theodosius, on the grounds that the records compiled had been fabricated by Flavian, first there was assembled at Constantinople a Synod of local people, and Flavian was judged by it and by some of the officials. And when the records had been corroborated as true,[87] the second Synod at Ephesus was convened.[88]

10 Dioscorus, the bishop of Alexandria after Cyril, was appointed as head of this Synod since Chrysaphius, who at that time was master of the palace, contrived this out of hostility against Flavian.[89] There

83 The investigation of Eutyches opened on 12 November (*ACO* II.i.1, no. 238), but Eutyches found various reasons to be absent from sessions on 15, 16 and 17 November before receiving an ultimatum to appear on 22 November (*ACO* II.i.1, no. 444); he attended this meeting, accompanied by numerous soldiers, officials and monastic supporters, and proceedings were supervised by the ex-prefect Florentius to attempt to secure the emperor's will (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 463–4, 468). The records of the debate are preserved as part of the *acta* of Chalcedon, along with various interjections by the discordant parties at Chalcedon (*ACO* II.i.1, pp. 138–47). Detailed discussion in Schwartz, *Prozess*.

84 *ACO* II.i.1, no. 527.

85 *ACO* II.i.1, nos. 511–22, esp. 516.

86 *ACO* II.i.1, no. 551.

87 Theodosius' support for Eutyches and hostility towards Flavian had been made clear in an encounter in S. Sophia in the week before Easter (27 March 449), when the emperor withdrew from communion with the patriarch (*Bazaar* 341–2). The summons of a Council under the presidency of Dioscorus of Alexandria was further proof of his attitude, and then in April imperial officials convened three meetings against Flavian: on 8 April Eutyches attempted to prove that there had been irregularities in his condemnation (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 556–8), on 13 April the records of the meeting of 22 November were thoroughly verified (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 555, 560–828), while on 27 April Eutyches failed to demonstrate that the sentence against him had been composed in advance of the 22 November meeting (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 829–49; and cf. *Bazaar* 343–4). Eutyches had also appealed to Pope Leo and other patriarchs, but Flavian eventually secured the pope's support (*ACO* II.ii.1, nos. 3–6).

88 *ACO* II.i.1, no. 24; the imperial order was dispatched on 30 March 449 (p. 69:7–8), convening the Council for 1 August (p. 68:28).

89 Cyril had died in 444; it is notable that Evagrius did not record the accession of the turbulent Dioscorus at the appropriate chronological place (e.g. ch. 8 where the record of the succession at Constantinople could have been broadened to include other major sees). Ratification of Dioscorus' presidency, though with prominence accorded to Juvenal of Jerusalem and Thalassius of Caesarea: *ACO* II.i.1, p. 74:16–24. For Chrysaphius, cf. n. 81 above. Another indication of Theodosius' attitude was that the Syrian monk Barsauma, a fierce opponent of Nestorius, was permitted to attend (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 47–8).

assembled at Ephesus Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, who had been previously at Ephesus, together with many of his associate priests.[90] Together with these there was also Domnus, who presided over Antioch after John,[91] and indeed also Bishop Julius, who took the place of Leo, Bishop of the elder Rome.[92] And Flavian also was present with them, together with his associate bishops, since Theodosius had decreed to Elpidius in these words:[93]

> While those who earlier passed judgement on the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, are present and remain quiet, though do not possess the status of judges, but await the common **[18]** vote of all the most holy Fathers, since what was decided by them is now being assessed. . . .[94]

At this Council Eutyches was recalled from deposition by Dioscorus and his party, as indeed is included in the Acts.[95] But Flavian and Eusebius, who presided over Dorylaeum, were condemned to be deposed;[96]

90 For Juvenal's long career, see Honigmann, 'Juvenal'.

91 John had died in 441, to be succeeded by his nephew Domnus, of whose talents the Palestinian monk Euthymius had a low opinion and whose deposition he predicted (*Life* of Euthymius 20, p. 33:10–28); as with Dioscorus (n. 89 above), Evagrius' silence probably indicates disapproval. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who was still the leading Antiochene theologian, was specifically prohibited from attending (*ACO* II.i.1, p. 69:1–4).

92 Julius of Puteoli was deputy for Leo, Pope 441–61.

93 Elpidius, *comes sacri consistorii* (*PLRE* II. 536, *s.v.* Helpidius 5), was jointly in charge of the Council with the tribune and praetorian notary Eulogius. This letter was incorporated in the *acta* of Chalcedon: *ACO* II.i.1, no. 49. Proclus, the proconsul of Asia, was instructed to assist in efforts to maintain order (*ACO* II.i.1, no. 50).

94 *ACO* II.i.1, no. 49, p. 72:21–4, the only divergence being the superlative 'most holy'; cf. *Bazaar* 352–3.

95 The Council met on 8 August 449, and Elpidius as presiding officer admitted Eutyches (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 68, 151); Eutyches provided a statement of faith (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 157, 185), which was then accepted (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 197–222). See also *Bazaar* 351–5.

96 Having secured the reinstatement of Eutyches, Dioscorus at once directed the Council's attention towards his enemies, prefacing his attack by asking the bishops to agree that anyone who taught differently from the Council of Nicaea was not orthodox. Since the doctrine of the two natures after the union, which Flavian and Eusebius propounded, had not yet been devised at the time of Nicaea, they could now be declared heretical in spite of protests by themselves and the representative of Pope Leo; they were deposed on 8 August (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 962–1067). Dioscorus secured the election at Constantinople of his *apocrisarius* Anatolius (Theodore Lector 351); Evagrius does not record his appointment, perhaps because of embarrassment that the senior bishop at the Council of Chalcedon, who was responsible for the composition of the Chalcedonian creed, had secured his position in such circumstances.

at the same Synod Ibas, the bishop of the Edessenes, was also publicly condemned, while Daniel, Bishop of Carrhae, was also deposed, as too Irenaeus of Tyre and furthermore Aquilinus of Byblus.[97] Certain actions were also taken in respect of Sophronius, who was bishop of Constantina.[98] Theodoret, the bishop of Cyrrhus, was also deposed by them, and indeed Domnus, the bishop of Antioch. With regard to him it was not possible to discover what happened thereafter.[99] And in this way the Second Council at Ephesus was dissolved.[100]

11 Let not any of the idol-maniacs mock me because subsequent Councils overturn their predecessors and always find some additional innovation for the faith.[101] For we, while searching for the ineffable and

97 These further depositions of prominent Easterners occurred on 22 August, after the representatives of Pope Leo had withdrawn from the Council (Flemming, *Akten* pp. 7–151). Most had links with Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and so could be accused of Nestorian sympathies: Ibas had already been investigated by a Council at Tyre, and then condemned by the governor of Osrhoene; Daniel was a nephew of Ibas; Irenaeus, a prominent lay supporter of Nestorius at Ephesus in 431, was subsequently consecrated as bishop by Theodoret but exiled for his views in 435 (see nn. 33, 58, 81 above); Aquilinus was another of Theodoret's appointees.

98 Sophronius was accused of sorcery and his case remitted to the new bishop of Edessa.

99 Domnus, who does not appear to have been a doctrinal expert but depended on Theodoret, was outmanoeuvred by Dioscorus, being first persuaded to agree to the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius, but then finding himself isolated (*Bazaar* 348); in contrast to the other deposed bishops he was not reinstated at Chalcedon. The *Life* of Euthymius ch. 20, p. 33:28 records that he returned to Palestine to ask forgiveness of the aged Euthymius, whose advice not to abandon the desert he had ignored.

100 The Second Council of Ephesus, known by opponents as the Latrocinium or Robber Council, acquired notoriety for the violence with which Dioscorus and his Egyptian supporters and the Syrian monk Barsauma secured the ratification of their views (*ACO* II.i.1, nos. 851–62; *Bazaar* 352–4); although the violence may have been exaggerated when many of the bishops reassembled at Chalcedon in 451 and had to explain why they had subscribed to decisions that were now contrary to imperial policy, this reputation was enshrined in the *acta* of Chalcedon. Evagrius, however, has chosen to ignore these unruly aspects of the Council, and in the next chapter even provides a defence of divergent doctrinal positions produced by Councils. He also does not identify here the two key misdemeanours of Dioscorus, at least as stated at Chalcedon (see ii.4, with n. 48 below): that he had received Eutyches into communion before the latter's condemnation had been lifted, and that he had prevented the letter of Pope Leo from being read out.

101 Festugière (215) translated the last clause as dependent on idol-maniacs ('who are always ready to dream up some new argument against our faith'), but it is easier to take this as a second reason for the mockery of the idolaters (as BEL 269 does).

Innovation was a standard charge against doctrinal opponents, exploited, for example,

inscrutable benevolence of God, and wishing to revere it especially and elevate it, are turned this way and that. And no one of those who have devised heresies among the Christians originally wanted to blaspheme, or stumbled through wishing to dishonour the divinity, but rather by supposing to speak better than their predecessor if he were to advocate this.[102] And the essential and vital points are commonly agreed by all: for what we worship is a trinity and what we glorify a unity, and God the Word, though born before the ages, was incarnated in a second birth out of pity for creation.[103] But if certain innovations have been made

by Dioscorus at Second Ephesus (n. 96 above) and by both sides in the Arian dispute (Sozomen iv.17.4, 26.5; vi.25.13; Theodoret, *EH* ii.31), and was also a powerful accusation in disciplinary matters (e.g. Sozomen vi.26.2; Theodoret, *EH* i.19.3). Inconsistency was an obvious charge against the majority of bishops at Second Ephesus who proceeded to reverse their decisions at Chalcedon only a couple of years later, and this was used against them by Monophysites (e.g. Rufus, *Plerophories* 59, pp. 115–16). Thus Evagrius' refutation of alleged pagan arguments turns into an indirect defence of Chalcedon (Allen, *Evagrius* 83), a subtle exploitation of the traditional theme of anti-pagan polemic in ecclesiastical history: the change of mind at Chalcedon is justified in advance, without the need to cite specific Monophysite critics, who are, though, tacitly equated with pagans. We have no evidence for the views about Church Councils of pagan intellectuals in the late fifth century, though refutation of pagan attacks and criticism had still been important for Sozomen in the 440s (Downey, 'Perspectives' 65–6). Evagrius' failure to name his adversary (contrast iii.40–1 for Zosimus) supports the hypothesis that pagans were not his main, or only target here. Allen, *loc. cit.* (and cf. 'Hellenism' 379), dismisses the chapter as a historiographical topos, but, quite apart from the possible Monophysite angle, there was a major pagan scandal at Antioch in the 580s, so that Evagrius' audience would have seen some contemporary relevance to the polemic (cf. Downey, 'Perspective' 68–9).

102 This sympathetic attitude towards heresy is not entirely compatible with Evagrius' description of the origins of Nestorian doctrine (i.1–2), but is consistent with Nestorius' own apology (i.7; cf. the judgement of Socrates vii.32) and with Evagrius' tolerance of the Monophysite position. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Oration* 27.10) had claimed that speculation on a number of unresolved questions, including Christ's sufferings, the resurrection, retribution and judgement, was not harmful, but the increasing precision of doctrinal definition in the fifth century had made this flexibility less acceptable: see the *Life* of Cyriacus 12, pp. 229:24–230:10, for fierce rejection of Gregory's position.

103 Cf. ii.5 (pp. 52:27–53:20) for emphasis on the essential community of doctrine between Chalcedonians and Monophysites. Socrates urged that Christians differed far less from each other than they did from pagans (iv.32.3), and had organized his narrative to point to the problems caused by disputations: Lim, *Disputation* 199–205. Themistius had developed an analogous argument when addressing Jovian on the theme of religious toleration: devout adherents of different faiths had the same objective even if their approach differed (5.68c–d).

concerning some other things, these too have come about by our saviour God's concession to free will even in these matters, so that the holy universal and apostolic **[19]** Church might rather, from one side and from the other, make what has been said captive to propriety and piety, and come to one smoothed and straight path. For this reason, indeed, it was said by the apostle, with exceeding great clarity: 'It is necessary that there also be heresies among us, in order that the reputable people be made manifest.'[104] And in this too one may admire the unutterable wisdom of God, who also said to the venerable Paul: 'For my power is made perfect in weakness.'[105] For from the things which have rent asunder the limbs of the Church, from these the correct and blameless doctrines have been further refined and preserved, and the universal and apostolic Church of God has achieved magnification and the ascent to the heavens.[106]

But the nurslings of pagan error, not wishing to find God or his care for men, destroyed both the beliefs of their predecessors and of each other,[107] on the contrary devising one God after another and both electing and naming gods of their own passions so that, by endorsing such gods, they might be provided with a pardon for their own licentious acts.[108] And so, for instance, the supreme father of both men and gods among them, after being transformed into a bird, wantonly carried away the Phrygian lad and provided for him the drinking cup as payment for his shameful behaviour, allowing him to drink the loving cup first so that jointly with the nectar they might drink the rebukes as well.[109] He, the

104 1 Corinthians 11.19.

105 2 Corinthians 12.9.

106 The Church is made stronger through the removal of heretical elements.

107 A direct response to the charge of innovation levelled by pagans against Christians. The thesis of a gradual refinement of doctrine justifies Chalcedon as well as subsequent attempts to reconcile Chalcedonians and Monophysites: orthodoxy would be defined with increasing clarity by the gradual identification and rejection of erroneous positions which had not been explicitly covered by the definitions of previous Councils.

108 Cf. Socrates iii.23.47–60 for the criticism that pagans added to their gods men of very dubious morals. The following list of unsuitable pagan gods draws on the extensive Christian polemical literature, e.g. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* i–ii; Evagrius' topics are quite close to the selection in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39.4; cf. also *Or.* 4.77, 115–16, 121–2; 5.31–2. I am grateful to Dr Jenny Nimmo-Smith for these references.

109 The myth of Zeus and Ganymede: the Trojan Ganymede, the most beautiful of all mortals, was carried off to heaven by Zeus in the guise of an eagle and became cup-bearer to the gods as well as the eponymous catamite.

most irrational of all, was, in addition to countless other absurdities which are repudiated even by worthless men, transformed into every form of irrational thing and became androgynous, bearing a child if not in the womb at any rate in the thigh, so that even this might be accomplished in him contrary to nature. The twice-born product of this, being androgynous, outraged both natures – inventor of strong drink, and indeed drunkenness, and moreover of the hangover and stale dregs and **[20]** the consequent evils.[110] To this high-thundering Aegis-wearer they also attribute that august act called parricide – the extreme penalty among all men – in that he expelled from his kingdom Cronos, who had unfortunately engendered him.[111] What might I say, too, about the prostitution which has been deified by them, over which they have placed Aphrodite, the Cyprian born from a sea-shell, who loathes modesty as a polluted substance and is one of the outlandish things in other respects,[112] but delights in prostitution and all acts of indecency and is willing to be propitiated by these? It was with her that Ares disgraced himself, who through the devices of Hephaestus was exposed to shame and mocked by the gods.[113] One might justly ridicule their phalli and ithyphalli and phallic

110 The myth of the birth of Dionysus. His mother Semele, tricked by Zeus' jealous wife Hera, asked Zeus to appear to her in his full power and was promptly consumed by his lightning after giving birth prematurely to Dionysus; Zeus sewed the infant into his thigh until Dionysus was ready for his second birth. Dionysus, god of wine, was often portrayed as a somewhat effeminate young man; he was worshipped under a wide variety of forms including that of Dionysus Androgynes, to whom there was a hermaphrodite cult statue at Emesa (Theodoret, *EH* iii.7.5); he was typically accompanied by groups of revellers of both sexes. The wilder tales about the Olympian Gods had been rejected by some pagans since the sixth century BC, when Xenophanes criticized stories about their behaviour.

'Stale dregs and the consequent evils' alludes to the practice at drunken parties of dousing the more inebriated participants with the collected heel-taps; when a party reached this stage, brawling or other acts of violence would probably follow. For Dionysius as patron of the organized symposium, see E. Pellizer, 'Outlines of a Morphology of Sympotic Entertainment', in O. Murray (ed.) *Sympotica, A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford, 1990) 177–84; for an example of drunken excess, Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1122–264.

111 Zeus, the Aegis-wearer (a goat skin, or skin-covered shield), was son of Cronos and Rhea; Cronos knew that he was fated to be supplanted by one of his children and so swallowed them all at birth, until Rhea tricked him and substituted a stone for Zeus, who grew up to overthrew Cronos and confine him and other Titans to Tartarus.

112 Or 'utterly outlandish', reading ὅλως for ἄλλως, as suggested by Bidez–Parmentier in their *apparatus* and accepted by Festugière.

113 One version of the birth of Aphrodite, goddess of love, had her emerge from the foam of the sea and come to land at Paphos on Cyprus. Ritual prostitution was practised in some of her temples in the Near East, for example that at Aphaca on Mount Lebanon,

processions and outsized Priapus and Pan, who is worshipped for his shameful member, and the mysteries at Eleusis, which are laudable for one thing alone, namely that the sun did not see them but they were condemned to dwell with the darkness.[114] Abandoning these to those who worship and are worshipped in shame, let us spur on our horse towards the goal and set out the remaining events of the reign of Theodosius in an easily intelligible way.[115]

12 Now a most pious constitution was written by him which is located in the first book of what is called the Codex of Justinian, and which is the third in number of the first title. In this under God's impulse he condemned *nem. con.* (as the saying goes)[116] and encompassed in anathema the man who was formerly favoured by him, as is written by Nestorius himself,[117] and he wrote as follows, word for word:
'We further decree that those who esteem the impious faith of Nestorius or follow his unlawful teaching, if they be bishops or clerics be ejected from the holy churches, but if laity anathematized.'[118]
Other legislation also was established by him in connection with our religion, to demonstrate his ardent zeal.[119]

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which was closed by Constantine. The story of how Aphrodite's husband Hephaestus, the divine smith, created a net to entrap his wife in the act of adultery with the war god Ares is told in Homer, *Odyssey* viii.266–366.

114 The reference is to a variety of fertility celebrations associated with Dionysus, Hermes, Pan, Demeter or Priapus; the Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated annually in western Attica in honour of Demeter and her daughter Kore / Persephone.

115 A typical closure to a digression, cf. ii.1 (p. 38:7–8), iv.29 (p. 179:14–16); Theophylact viii.11.12.

116 Cf. iv.38, p. 188:3–4, for the affected circumlocution.

117 Cf. nn. 41–2 above.

118 The Edict of 17 February 448: *ACO* I.i.4, no. 138, p. 66:12–14; = *Cod. Iust.* I.1.3; Evagrius has omitted ὥστε 'so that' after 'decree'.

119 Before the ordination of Nestorius in 428, Theodosius had issued various laws against heretics (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.5.48–9, 57–61; xvi.6.6–7); Nestorius, however, seems to have increased the intensity of pressure against non-Christians (Socrates vii.29, 31), and on 30 May 435 Theodosius issued a comprehensive law against heretics which divided them into four categories of ascending gravity (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.5.65).

Sozomen ix.1, 5, and Socrates vii.22–23, praised Theodosius' piety and pointed to the rewards it brought (cf. Soz. ix.11, 16 for Honorius), but neither described in detail Theodosius' involvement in the Councils at Ephesus. In reality Theodosius' reputation for orthodoxy was shaky: in 431 he strongly supported Nestorius, and in 449 it was Theodosius' orders which determined the nature of proceedings at Second Ephesus. Evagrius avoids

13 In these times too there flourished and was prominent **[21]** Symeon, the man of holy and universally celebrated memory, the first man to practise the station on a column, an abode that was scarcely two cubits in circumference, during the time that Domnus was the Antiochene bishop.[120] When this man came to him, he was astounded by the stance and lifestyle and yearned for what was more mystical. And so the two came together and after consecrating the unbroken body they gave a share of the life-giving communion to each other.[121] This man, who while in the flesh imitated the existence of the heavenly powers, removed himself from the affairs of the earth; and by constraining the nature which for the time being weighed him down, he pursued higher things. And being betwixt heaven and those on earth he conversed with God and together with the angels gave glory, from earth presenting to God requests on behalf of humans, while from heaven achieving for humans the beneficence from on high.[122] One of those indeed who were

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these complications by reverting to the antecedents of Second Ephesus and focusing on Theodosius' condemnation of Nestorius. By contrast, Nestorius criticized the impiety of the emperor and recorded the problems that it brought to the empire (*Bazaar* 362–9), while the staunchly Chalcedonian writers Theodore Lector and Liberatus criticized him respectively for his malleability (Theodore 346, 350) and his poor response to representations from Pope Leo (Lib. 12).

120 Symeon the Elder lived *c.* 390–459. As a youth his extreme asceticism had caused trouble in the monasteries to which he was attached, with the result that he eventually established himself on an isolated mountain. His growing fame brought crowds of pilgrims, and it was to escape these that he mounted a column which was progressively raised in height. Domnus, Bishop of Antioch 441–9.

121 The Syriac *Life* of Symeon 54 (Doran) records that Domnus gave the sacramental host to Symeon; Evagrius' version, that Symeon also reciprocated, presupposes that Symeon had been ordained a priest, for which there is no confirmation (though the *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Younger, 132–5, narrates at great length how he received his ordination; granted the importance of the elder Symeon in defining the construction of the younger's career, this might indicate that there were also stories about the elder Stylite's ordination). In the *Life* of Daniel, 43, the stylite exchanged communion with the patriarch Gennadius after being miraculously ordained; cf. *Pratum Spirituale* 36 for a Monophysite stylite near Hierapolis receiving communion from Patriarch Ephrem of Antioch, after the latter had miraculously demonstrated the superiority of the Chalcedonian position. Receiving or exchanging communion showed that the stylite had proper relations with the established church; cf. Lane-Fox, 'Daniel' 210.

122 Not surprisingly, the notion of the stylite as an angel among men, occupying a station between earth and heaven, is found in the *Lives* of Symeon, e.g. Syriac *Life* 52 (Doran).

eye-witnesses has written the miracles of this man, while Theodoret too, the bishop of Cyrrhus, has also written and eloquently recorded them;[123] leaving aside most matters therein,[124] we have learnt something which is preserved to the present day by those in the holy desert, and ascertained it from them.

And so after Symeon, this angel upon earth, this citizen of the supernal Jerusalem while in the flesh, pursued this strange course which was unknown to mankind, those in the holy desert sent someone to him,[125] enjoining him to say what is this outlandish existence, why after abandoning the well-worn path that has been trodden by the saints is he travelling some strange way that is utterly unknown to mankind; and that they instruct him to descend and to follow the way of the chosen Fathers. If he willingly proffered himself for the descent, these men ordered that permission be granted him to pursue his own way; for from his obedience **[22]** it would be clear that he thus persevered in the struggle under guidance from God; but should he resist, or indeed be a slave to his personal will and not directly respond to the injunction, he should be dragged down, even forcibly.[126] When indeed the man came to him and announced the command of the Fathers, and Symeon had at once put forward one of his two feet in his desire to fulfil the Fathers' injunction,

123 The Greek *Life* by the monk Antony and the anonymous Syriac *Life* both claim to have been written by eye-witnesses, though Lane-Fox, 'Daniel' 181–5, is sceptical, especially about Antony's work; Theodoret, *RH* 26. Further discussion of the different versions in Lietzmann, *Symeon*; Peeters, *Tréfonds* 93–136; Festugière, *Antioche* 347–87; Harvey, 'Sense'; Doran, *Lives*.

124 The text is slightly awkward. Festugière (218 n. 48) adopted the suggestion in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus* that ἓν δὲ αὖ̂ be read for ἐν ᾧ̂, 'leaving aside most matters, we have taken no more than one . . .', but the sense is clear without emendation.

125 Festugière (218 n. 49) suggested that these were probably the Fathers in the Egyptian desert, and a fragment of John Diakrinomenos (535: text at Theodore Lector 154:1–4) records that Egyptian monks sent an anathema to Symeon, which they withdrew after learning more about his life and humility. But there is no reason why monks in the deserts of Syria or Palestine should not have been equally concerned about this ascetic innovation, since Symeon's early monastic career had caused much controversy. The *Life* of Daniel, 7–8, records an incident when Mesopotamian monks criticized Symeon's innovatory behaviour, and the Syriac *Life* 111 (Doran) provides a defence of his practice with reference to Old Testament champions of God.

126 A recurrent theme in hagiographies, and collections of stories about holy men, is the relationship of the individual ascetic to the established Church in the form of the leader of a monastery or the local bishop: see, for example, Theodoret, *RH* 15.4; 21.6–8, 15–21, and cf. n. 121 above.

he freed him to accomplish his own path, declaring: 'Be strong and courageous;[127] your station is from God.' This has been set down by me as noteworthy, although it has been passed over by those who have written about him.[128]

On this man the power of divine grace had settled to such an extent that when Theodosius the emperor had decreed that the Jews in Antioch should receive back their synagogues which had previously been taken away by the Christians, he wrote in such frank language and censured him so vehemently, since he only reverenced his own emperor, that the emperor Theodosius even revoked his own commands, fulfilled everything in favour of the Christians, dismissed from office the prefect who had recommended this, and begged the all-holy and aerial martyr, in these words, both to supplicate and pray on his behalf and to give him a share of his own blessing.[129] And so he passed his time, pursuing this life in the flesh for 56 years: in the first monastery, where divine matters were imparted to him, nine years, and thereafter in the so-called 'enclosure' 47 years; for ten years he accomplished his struggle in a certain confined space, for seven on a shorter column, and on a 40-cubit one for 30 years.[130]

After his departure from here, this man's all-holy body was later conveyed to the Antiochene city, when Leo wielded the sceptres, at the time when Martyrius, who presided over the city of Antioch, and Ardabur, who in turn was general of the eastern regiments, came to

127 Joshua 1.6.

128 The *Life* of Daniel 27–8 has an analogous story of the stylite making token submission to the powerful landowner Gelanius.

129 On 8 June 423 Theodosius II had addressed a law to the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus, the uncle of Empress Eudocia, which gave protection to law-abiding pagans and Jews, and to their property (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.8.27; 10.23–4; cf. Theodore Lector 96:4–8). Symeon's blunt reaction is recorded in the Syriac *Life* 122–3 (Doran), and alluded to in Theodoret, *RH* 26.27. A comparable incident during Empress Eudocia's residence in Jerusalem in the 440s is recorded in the Syriac *Life* of Barsauma, another Syrian ascetic who managed to circumvent imperial toleration of the Jews (see Holum, *Empresses* 217–18).

130 Cf. Syriac *Life* 110 (Doran) for the same dates; the Greek accounts have different details. The first monastery was at Teleda (three years according to the *Life* by Antony 12; Theodoret, *RH* 26.4–5, has two years with anonymous ascetics followed by ten years at Teleda). After moving to Telneshin, Symeon first inhabited a small hut, after which, to restrict his mobility, he attached himself by a chain to a heavy stone on the summit of Qalat Seman (Theodoret, *RH* 26.10); he then ascended a column to escape the crowds, and progressively increased the column's height (to a maximum of 36 cubits according to Theodoret, *RH* 26.12).

Symeon's 'enclosure' together with the soldiers in his command and officers and others, **[23]** and protected the most sacred corpse of the blessed Symeon lest the nearby cities should come together and snatch it away. Accordingly, while very great miracles occurred even on the journey, his all-holy body was conveyed to the city of Antioch.[131] The emperor Leo also demanded to be given it by the Antiochenes. The people of Antioch presented requests to him, writing as follows: 'Because of the fact that our city does not have a wall, since it collapsed in an earthquake, we have brought the all-holy body so as to be a wall and protection for us.' Persuaded by these, and acceding to the requests, he left them the revered body.[132]

131 Symeon died on his column on 2 September 459. The 'enclosure' (*mandra*; literally 'sheep-fold') was the name given to the dry-stone structures which admirers had built around the column (*Life* by Antony 12).

Symeon's disciples feared that local countrymen might attempt to steal the corpse and cause trouble, and so placed a coffin on top of the column (Syriac *Life* 117–18 [Doran]). Meantime, the inhabitants of Antioch demanded the body as a talisman, and the authorities there made arrangements for its transportation from Qalat Seman to the city with an escort of Gothic troops (Malalas 369:10–16). The corpse was brought down from the column on 21 September, carried by hand to the village of Sih where it was placed on a cart, and reached Antioch on 25 September; without apparent cause, the procession stopped at the village of Marwa/Merope, where a deranged necrophiliac was restored to his senses after touching the cart (Syriac *Life* 127 [Doran]; different details in the *Life* by Antony 29, 31–2, with Saracens threatening to steal the corpse). For competition for the body of a saint, cf. Theodoret, *RH* 15.5–6; 19.3; 21.30.

Martyrius, Patriarch of Antioch 459–70; Ardabur, *magister militum per Orientem* 453–66: see *PLRE* II. 135–7, *s.v.* Ardabur 1.

132 Cf. Syriac *Life* 128 (Doran) for the same exchange with Leo; Malalas also (369:10–16) implies that the body remained in Antioch, where it was first placed in the church of Cassianus but then moved to the Great Church, where a chapel was built for it. On the other hand, the *Life* of Daniel 58 records that the body, or part of it, was taken to Constantinople (discussion in Lane-Fox, 'Daniel' 193–6).

For the earthquake at Antioch, cf. Evagrius ii.12 and notes. The word used for 'earthquake' in the Antiochenes' request, ὀργή, literally 'anger', is common for natural disasters, which were seen as demonstrations of God's displeasure: cf. Jeffreys, *Studies* 159, for Malalas' use of θεομηνία, 'wrath of God', for various misfortunes.

It is noticeable that Evagrius' information in this and the preceding paragraph is close to the Syriac *Life*, whereas the *Life* by Antony has different details (Theodoret's narrative in *RH* was composed before Symeon's death and so is not relevant). Allen, *Evagrius* 86, speculated that there must have been a Greek version of the Syriac *Life*. Lane-Fox, 'Daniel' 184, suggested, on other grounds, that the *Life* by Antony might have been composed after the *Life* of Symeon the Younger, which would date it later than Evagrius' own work (cf. vi n. 91 below).

Most of this man has been safeguarded up to this time, and along with many priests I saw his holy head, indeed, while the widely celebrated Gregory was bishop here, since Philippicus had requested that precious relics should be sent to him for the protection of the eastern armies.[133] And the extraordinary thing was that the hairs which lay upon his head had not been corrupted, but are preserved as if he were alive again and associating with men. And the skin on his forehead was wrinkled and withered, but still it is intact, as are the majority of his teeth, except for those forcibly removed by the hands of devout men:[134] through their appearance they proclaim what the nature, size and age of Symeon the man of God had been. Next to the head there also lies the collar fashioned from iron, with which the widely famous body persevered in the struggle and shared the rewards from God; for not even in death has the beloved iron abandoned Symeon.[135] I would thus have described in detail each individual incident, providing a benefit both to myself and to the readers from the account, if Theodoret, as I have already said, had not toiled over these things more expansively.[136]

14 Well now, let me also entrust to my history another thing which I have seen. I yearned to see the precinct of this particular holy man. **[24]** It is distant from Theopolis about 300 stades,[137] lying at the very peak of the mountain. The local people call it 'enclosure', since the asceticism of the all-holy Symeon, I suppose, bequeathed the appellation to the

133 Philippicus, *magister militum per Orientem* 584–7, 588–9: *PLRE* III. 1022–6, *s.v.* Philippicus 3; Evagrius (vi.3) attempted to present his achievements as favourably as possible; before the battle of Solachon in 586, Philippicus paraded an *acheiropoietos* image (a miraculous icon of Christ) through the army (Theophylact ii.3.4–9).

134 The *Life* by Antony 29 reports that Patriarch Martyrius attempted to remove a hair from Symeon's beard as a relic, but that his hand shrivelled until the other bishops present prayed to the saint and assured him that his body and clothing were intact and would not suffer any further tampering. However, according to the *Life* of Daniel 23, Symeon's leather tunic was conveyed to Constantinople by one of his disciples, Sergius, who presented it to the stylite Daniel after failing to gain an audience with Emperor Leo.

135 This presumbly refers to the iron band which first served to chain Symeon's leg to his rock and then to attach himself to his column (Syriac *Life* 93 [Doran]).

136 Evagrius deliberately presented information that was not available in Theodoret, *RH* 26, especially on Symeon's death and his links with Antioch. Theodoret's account is significantly shorter than the other Greek *Life* by Antony (by about one quarter), and this in turn is shorter than the Syriac *Life*, of which a version appears to have been available to Evagrius (cf. n. 132 above). Only Theodoret's account could claim stylistic merit.

137 60 kilometres.

place.[138] The journey up the mountain is a distance of twenty stades.[139] The church building is formed in the manner of a cross, being adorned on the four sides with aisles; columns beautifully made from polished stone are ranged along the aisles, and raise up the roof to a pretty good height. In the centre is an open-air court, executed with the greatest artistry. Here stands the 40-cubit column on which the angel incarnate on earth accomplished his heavenly life.[140] Then, near the roof of the aforementioned aisles are openings – some call them windows – which open onto the aforementioned open area and onto the aisles.[141]

138 There is a minor textual variant: most MSS read καταλιπούσης (feminine participle, so that 'asceticism' is the subject; accepted by Bidez–Parmentier), whereas one (*Paris* 1444) reads καταλιπόντος (masculine participle, with Symeon as subject; accepted by Valesius and Festugière, 221, who translated, 'the most holy Symeon having, I think, left this name to the place of his asceticism'). The difference is not, in fact, of great significance, and turns on whether it is logical to suppose that Symeon's ascetic practice could have given a name to the place. The word order does not favour Festugière's interpretation, and I do not find his arguments against Bidez–Parmentier compelling: during Symeon's lifetime a double *mandra*, 'enclosure' was built around his column (cf. n. 131 above), and it is not difficult to envisage that this became the local term for the whole complex within which Symeon practised his ascetic ideal, and so continued to be applied after his death to the church that now surrounded his column.

139 At the foot of the mountain were the monasteries of Telneshin, which had initially supported Symeon's ascetic endeavours and then benefited substantially from his fame. Twenty stades (4 km) is rather long for the distance between the lower buildings and the column on the summit, but there may have been a circuitous ceremonial ascent.

140 The complex, which measures over 300 feet from east to west, and 280 feet from north to south, was constructed in the latter part of Zeno's reign (476–90). At the centre is the octagon enclosing Symeon's pillar, of which the base survives, and from this radiate four basilicas, each with two aisles. There is debate about whether the octagonal court was originally covered by a roof. Detailed discussion of the buildings in Tchalenko, *Villages* I. 23–67; see also Mango, *Architecture* 48–51, for summary and good photographs, and Krencker, *Simeon*.

141 The sentence is rather obscure, and there is disagreement about what 'openings' (κλειθρίδια) are intended: in BEL (276) κλειθρίδια is rendered 'balustrade'; Festugière (222 n. 59) paraphrased this as 'small openings closed by a grill', and identified these as both windows in the main aisles and the small windows that pierced the four apsidal niches (visible in Mango, *Architecture* plates 61–2), which occupied those sides of the central octagon that did not lead into one of the main basilicas.

I am not convinced by Festugière's interpretation, since Evagrius appears to be referring to a single set of elevated openings, of some size, which linked the basilicas and the central octagon; Festugière's small niches would not have provided an impressive setting for the miraculous shooting star, which would scarcely have been visible to those within the octagon, let alone to the women assembled outside; the main windows of the aisle would

So, to the left-hand side of the column,[142] in the opening itself, in company with the whole crowd which had gathered there, while the country people were circling around the column,[143] I saw an enormous star that ran gleaming across the whole opening, not once nor twice nor three times but frequently indeed, constantly ceasing once more and again suddenly appearing.[144] This occurs only at the commemorations of the all-holy one.[145] There are some who say – and because of the credibility of the reporters and because of the other things which I have seen, there is no reason to disbelieve the miracle – that they have even seen his very face indeed, flying around here and there with a beard hanging down and his head covered by a hood as was his custom. Thus, on coming to the place, men gain entry without restriction and they repeatedly go around the column with their beasts of burden, but for whatever reason I cannot say there is a most strict watch that no woman should visit the interior of the sanctuary.[146] The women stand outside

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also not have been an appropriate location for the star (see below). Krencker's reconstruction of the basilica, although unfashionable since he postulated that the central octagon was covered by a cupola, solves this particular problem (*Simeon* 10–15): Evagrius is referring to openings located in the façade of each basilica above the richly decorated arch that linked the basilica to the octagon at ground level. Although the octagon only survives to the top of the arches (Mango, *Architecture* plate 62), a set of large windows above this level would match Evagrius' specifications and Krencker identified some carved blocks which could have come from the decorated surrounds of these openings.

142 Evagrius probably imagines himself facing the eastern basilica, the main one since it terminated in a triple apse, so that the following miracle occured at the entry to the northern basilica (Festugière 223 n. 62).

143 Cf. Theodoret, *RH* 26.14, for the excited and somewhat unruly crowd which thronged around the column during Symeon's life. MacMullen, *Christianity* 103–6, connects this with other references to the persistence of ritual dancing, in spite of clerical disapproval; this may be right, although Evagrius might just be describing a more orderly movement around Symeon's column.

144 Symeon Metaphrastes (*PG* 114, col. 392) preserves a version of this miracle; as Allen, *Evagrius* 86, noted, this is one of the few occasions that Evagrius was used as a source by later writers.

145 The main feast day was 1 September.

146 The prohibition had applied in Symeon's life: Theodoret, *RH* 26.21, records that an Arab queen sent her infant in to be blessed since she herself was prohibited from entering; even Symeon's mother was not allowed to see him during her lifetime, while a sinful woman had her prayer answered before she attempted to contravene the ban, and a female snake waited in the women's section while her mate approached the column to obtain the saint's relief for her suffering (*Life* by Antony 14, 23, 25).

near **[25]** the doorway and admire the wonder, for one of the doors is situated opposite the gleaming star.[147]

15 In the same reign Isidore was also prominent; his fame was widespread, as the poet said,[148] and he was famous among all for deed and word; this man so wasted the flesh by toils and so enriched the soul with elevating words that on earth he pursued an angelic life and throughout was a living monument of solitary life and contemplation of God. Now he wrote many other things that are full of every benefit, but he also wrote to the celebrated Cyril: from this in particular it is revealed that he flourished at the same time as the venerable man.[149]

As I labour over these things as elegantly as I can, well now let Synesius of Cyrene come into the middle to adorn the discourse with his own remembrance.[150] This Synesius was learned in all other matters, but philosophy he practised to such an exceptional degree that he was admired even by Christians who judge what they see with neither sympathy nor antipathy. They therefore persuaded him to be deemed worthy of the redeeming rebirth and to undertake the yoke of the priesthood, even though he had not yet accepted the doctrine of the resurrection, nor did he wish to hold this opinion. They conjectured quite accurately that these things too would follow the man's other virtues, since divine favour does not endure anything to be defective: and they were not deceived in their hope. For his nature and greatness are revealed by the letters which he elegantly and learnedly composed after the priesthood, and by the speech addressed to Theodosius himself, and by those of his worthy labours that are in circulation.[151]

147 The main entrance to the complex surrounding the octagon was through the south basilica, which possessed a façade with three doors, so that women gathered outside the main door could have seen the star flitting across the entrance to the north basilica.

148 Homer, *Odyssey* i.344; cf. Evagrius v.6 for the conceit.

149 Isidore of Pelusium was abbot of a monastery near the eastern end of the Nile Delta *c.* 400–40. He defended John Chrysostom's memory against Cyril. About 2,000 of his letters survive, including some to Cyril (i.310, 323–4, 370: *PG* 88. A new *Sources Chrétiennes* edition is in preparation, of which volume I, letters 1214–1413, has appeared, ed. P. Évieux [Paris, 1997]). For the tradition of such literary notices in ecclesiastical histories, see Allen, *Evagrius* 87.

150 Synesius, *c.* 370–413, precedes the period of Evagrius' *History* (though cf. i.19 for another inaccurate literary notice); Cameron and Long, *Barbarians* 34, are harshly critical of Evagrius for this error.

151 For recent discussion, which overturns accepted views, see Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, esp. ch. 2. Cameron argued that Synesius was born a Christian, and that he was

16 Then too the venerable Ignatius, as is narrated by John the *rhetor* along with others, was translated many years after the time when, in accordance with his wish, he had obtained as a tomb the bellies of wild beasts in the amphitheatre of Rome, and then – by means of the more bulky bones, which being left behind were carried off to the city of Antioch – one in the so-called cemetery.[152] For the perfect God commanded Theodosius to honour Theophorus **[26]** with greater honours and to dedicate to the prize-winning martyr a temple formerly devoted to the demons, and named by the local people Tychaeum.[153] And the former Tychaeum became a pure shrine and holy precinct for Ignatius, when his holy remains had been brought through the city on a carriage with a sacred escort and deposited in the precinct. Hence a public festival and popular celebration is kept down to our time, since the prelate Gregory elevated it to greater magnificence.[154] The same

baptized in 401, a decade before his consecration as bishop of Ptolemais in 411. He was educated at Alexandria in the 390s, where he counted the philosopher Hypatia among his teachers, and he remained interested in, and under the influence of, neo-Platonic doctrines. His doubts about the doctrine of the resurrection are expressed in *Letter* 105, where Synesius discusses the three issues that made him hesitate to accept ordination as a bishop (the other two were the questions of the origin of the soul and of the eventual destruction of the world); he refers to the resurrection as an ineffable mystery on which he does not share the views of the ordinary people.

Synesius' speech *On Kingship* was addressed to Arcadius, in 398 according to Cameron and Long, *Barbarians* ch. 4; two extant manuscripts do, however, name the addressee as Theodosius, and a *lemma* specifies that this was Theodosius I. Evagrius presumably believed that it was addressed to Theodosius II, hence his decision to include Synesius at this point.

152 Bishop Ignatius of Antioch was martyred at Rome under Trajan, probably in 116; his remains were subsequently returned to Antioch and interred outside the Daphne gate; see Downey, *Antioch* 292–9. John Malalas, to whom Evagrius regularly alludes as John the *rhetor* (i.e. 'speaker', 'lawyer') records the martyrdom (276:10–11), but the surviving abridged text does not record this fifth-century translation.

153 Festugière, 224 n. 68, observed that Theophorus is the Greek surname for the Latin Ignatius. The location of Antioch's Tychaeum, the shrine to the city's Fortune, is unknown but was an obvious place in which to install a saintly local protector; Libanius, in his speech *On behalf of the temples* of 386/7, stated that the shrine was still intact (xxx.51). The Tychaeum at Alexandria had been transferred to a secular use *c.* 400.

154 Why Gregory chose to revitalize this long-established festival is unknown, but this might have been an attempt to offset his unpopularity with the urban plebs at Antioch (cf. vi.7) or to bolster morale after the earthquake of 588.

things came about by various means,[155] since God honours the holy memories of His saints.

For the Daphnean Apollo with the Castalian prophetic voice[156] could give no reply to the emperor when the sinful Julian, the tyrant hateful to God, consulted the oracle, because the holy Babylas was completely stopping his voice from nearby, and Julian against his will and under the lash, honoured the saint with translation.[157] At that time indeed, a most spacious church was built for him outside the city, which is preserved even to this day, so that in future the demons might do their own deeds with impunity, as they say they had previously promised to Julian.[158] This then was what was arranged by the saviour God, so that both the power of those who had been martyred might be conspicuous

155 Festugière, 225 n. 70, rendered the phrase ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν with temporal sense, 'at the present time', but the only other occurrence in Evagrius (ii.5, p. 52:26) should not be treated temporally. Here the sense is that God ensures that his saints are honoured by both pious and impious emperors, which provides a pretext for recounting the story of Babylas' relics.

156 The allusion ultimately is to the Castalian spring at Delphi, Apollo's main prophetic centre, although it was common to apply Delphic terminology to Apollo's shrine at Daphne: see Downey, *Antioch* 82–6 for the origins of the Temple and its spring, and 659–64, excursus 18, which refers to the discussion by J. Lassus (in Elderkin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* I. 114–56) of the Yakto mosaic in which the Daphne springs are labelled 'Castalia'. The spring at Daphne had been blocked by Emperor Hadrian, since he had received a prophecy of his own accession to the throne and subsequently wanted to deny such foreknowledge to others (Ammianus xxii.12.8).

157 Before reaching Antioch in July 362 Julian had ordered the re-erection of the colonnade around the temple of Apollo; Julian's brother, the Caesar Gallus, had purified the site a decade earlier by the translation of the relics of the local martyr Babylas, and Apollo's temple and its major festival in August were now ignored by most Antiochenes, much to Julian's dismay (*Misopogon* 34–5). Julian frequently visited the temple and presented lavish gifts, but failed to revive its popularity or obtain an oracular response; the silence was blamed on the presence of the martyr's bones, and Julian ordered their eviction, an event which the Christian community at Antioch turned into an anti-pagan procession. Cf. Socrates iii.18; Sozomen v.19; Theodoret, *EH* iii.10; Theophanes 49:28–50:23; John Chrysostom, *De S. Babyla, contra Julianum et Gentiles* (*PG* 50, cols. 533–72), of which the contemporary narrative section, chs. 75–109, is translated in Lieu, *Julian* 65–81. G. Downey, 'The Shrines of St. Babylas at Antioch and Daphne', in Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* II. 45–8; also Downey, *Antioch* 364, 387.

158 The relics were buried in the Antioch cemetery, until a cruciform church on the west bank of the Orontes was constructed by Bishop Meletius *c.* 380: Downey, *Antioch* 415–16. Evagrius fails to note that the temple of Apollo was destroyed by fire shortly after the removal of Babylas' relics, a point celebrated with relish by the Christian sources quoted above; see also Ammianus xxii.13.1–3.

and the undefiled remains of the holy martyr might be transferred to an undefiled place, being honoured with a most beautiful precinct.

17 At this period the much-reported war was stirred up by Attila the king of the Scythians. This the *rhetor* Priscus recorded comprehensively and with exceptional learning, narrating with great elegance how he campaigned against both eastern and western regions, which cities and how many he captured and destroyed, and after how many achievements he departed this world.[159]

Now, while the same Theodosius was wielding the sceptres, a very great, extraordinary earthquake, one that surpassed its predecessors **[27]**, occurred throughout the whole inhabited world, so to speak, with the result that many of the towers at the royal city were laid flat, and the so-called Long Wall of the Chersonese collapsed;[160] the earth gaped and many villages sank into it; again there were many, indeed innumerable misfortunes both on land and at sea; and whereas some springs were rendered dry, elsewhere a quantity of water was sent up where there was none previously, entire trees were upturned roots and all, and numerous mounds were instantly turned into mountains; the sea hurled up corpses of fish and many of the islands in it were swamped; again, sea-going

159 For the fragments of Priscus, and other passages indirectly derived from him, see Blockley, *Historians*; Jeep, 'Quellenuntersuchungen' 160, asserted that Evagrius derived his Priscan material via the (lost) *Universal History* of Eustathius of Epiphania, but it is possible that Evagrius had read the famous fifth-century historian for himself. For narrative of Attila's achievements, see Thompson, *Attila*: in the 440s Attila's Huns rampaged across the Balkans, sacking many of the major cities such as Singidunum, Naissus, Serdica and Philippopolis, and ravaging as far south as Thermopylae; in 450 Attila turned west, lured by the prospect of marriage to the Augusta Honoria, but his invasion of Gaul was defeated by Aetius and an alliance of Germanic tribes at the Catalaunian plains in 451; in 452 he invaded northern Italy and razed Aquileia, but then unexpectedly withdrew; he died in 453 from a haemorrhage after excessive celebrations at his wedding feast.

160 The earthquake struck on Sunday 26 January 447: *Chron. Pasch. s.a.* 447, p. 586:6–14; 450, p. 589:6–16; Marc. Com. *s.a.* 447; extensive damage at Constantinople is attested, especially to the walls (57 towers collapsed) and in the south-western sector of the city, and there were numerous casualties. The event was commemorated annually by a religious procession to the Hebdomon (which brought on Marcian's death in 457). For discussion, see Croke, 'Earthquakes', 131–44.

The Long Walls are those which defended the Gallipoli peninsula, not the outer defences of Constantinople, which were only constructed after this earthquake and the Hun invasion of the same year (Whitby, 'Walls', 575; there is some confusion in the comments of Festugière, 226 n. 72a, and Allen, *Evagrius* 88).

ships were seen on dry land when the waters retreated back. Much of Bithynia and Hellespont and both Phrygias suffered. The disaster gripped the earth for a time, not continuing so violently as at the beginning but gradually weakening until it had completely ceased.

18 At this period Memnon and Zoilus and Callistus, men who distinguished our religion, were sent out by Theodosius as governors to the city of the Antiochenes.[161] And while Memnon beautifully and elaborately reconstructed from the foundations the building called even to our day the Psephium, leaving an open-air court in the centre,[162] Zoilus built the basilica on the south side of that of Rufinus, which has inherited his name to our own day, even though there are changes in the buildings due to diverse disasters.[163] But Callistus erected a magnificent and prominent structure, which both men of former times and we now call the Stoa of Callistus, in front of the seats established for Justice, opposite the forum where stands the most attractive house which is the residence of the generals.[164] After these Anatolius was in turn sent as general of the eastern regiments **[28]** and he built the stoa named that of Anatolius, decorating it with every kind of material. These details, even if peripheral, are not without their attraction to those who love knowledge.[165]

161 For discussion of this chapter, with its infuriatingly imprecise allusions to Antiochene buildings, see Downey, *Antioch* 453–4, 625–7. Memnon and Callistus are not otherwise known; for Zoilus, see *PLRE* II. 1204, *s.v.* Zoilus 2. It is impossible to tell whether their official position was *comes Orientis* or *consularis Syriae*, but their tenure of office should be earlier than 433, when Anatolius (see n. 164 below) went to the East.

162 Festugière, 227 n. 73, following *LSJ*, suggested that the Psephium was a building covered in mosaic, ψηφίς. Downey, *Antioch* 453–4, 627, had already dismissed this etymology and instead connected the name with ψῆφος, 'vote'; he tentatively suggested that the passage referred to the Hellenistic agora and its surrounds, and speculated that the Psephium might be identical with the *bouleuterion* (council chamber) which is known to have had an open-air court.

163 It is not absolutely clear whose name the basilica inherited since τούτου in the Greek (literally 'of this man') should refer to the nearest name, Rufinus, whereas the rest of the sentence deals with Zoilus' construction (the interpretation of BEL 281 and Festugière 227).

164 Seats for Justice: Festugière, 227, 475, translated as 'statues to Justice', but Downey, *Antioch* 626, had rightly seen this as a reference to one of the lawcourts; these could designate the *praetorium* of the *comes Orientis* near the Hellenistic agora, or that of the *consularis Syriae* at the forum of Valens; the location of the residence (or the *praetorium*, if that is intended) of the *magister militum per Orientem* (the most prominent military commander in the city) is not known.

165 Anatolius (*PLRE* II. 84–6, *s.v.* Anatolius 10), *magister militum per Orientem c.* 433–46. Malalas 360:7–15 describes this 'large, well-lit and very beautiful' basilica, which was

19 In the same times of Theodosius there were frequent uprisings in Europe when Valentinian was emperor of Rome; these indeed Theodosius overcame by sending great forces both by land and sea with an infantry and naval armament.[166] Thus too he dominated the Persians when they committed outrages while Yazdgard, the father of Varam, was their king, or as Socrates thinks when Varam himself was king, with the result that when they sent an embassy he granted them peace, which endured until the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius.[167] Although these matters are narrated by others, they have been abbreviated with exceptional elegance by Eustathius the Syrian from Ephiphania, who also narrated the capture of Amida.[168]

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funded by Theodosius under Anatolius' supervision; an inscription in gold mosaic gave credit for the building to the emperor.

The digression concludes in characteristic fashion. Although the extant text of Malalas only preserves the information about Anatolius, all the material in this chapter on local buildings was probably derived from his account.

166 There were numerous problems in the West during the reign of Valentinan III (425–55), which saw the loss of Africa to the Vandals and the consolidation of Visigothic control in Aquitania, as well as Attila's invasion. Three major expeditions were organized by the East, the first in 424/5 to remove the usurper John from Ravenna, when Ardabur sailed from Salona to Italy while Aspar and the cavalry proceeded by land via Sirmium, and the other two against the Vandals in 431 and 441; both the Vandal expeditions were naval enterprises, and both failed. Cf. Theodoret, *EH* v.37.4–10, for praise of Theodosius' military successes over Huns and Persians, and see Croke, 'Evidence' 365–6, for Theodosius II's victory monument (a statue atop a column with an inscribed base) at the Hebdomon.

167 This refers to the Persian war of 421/2, which broke out during the reign of Vahram V (420/21–38), although the origins of the war lay in the reign of his father Yazdgard I (399–420/21), when Christian enthusiasts stirred up trouble in Persia by attacking Zoroastrian buildings; this triggered retaliation and some Christians sought refuge with the Romans, who refused to return them when the Persians demanded; the Romans achieved some victories (Theodoret, *EH* v.39; Socrates vii.8, 18, 20; Theophanes 82:18–83:2; 85:24–86:9), but a Hunnic incursion into Thrace prompted a return to peace (Croke, 'Evidence' 348–9). Evagrius seems unaware of the war of 440–2, which briefly interrupted the peace that otherwise lasted until Kavadh's invasion in 502, the twelfth year of Anastasius.

Festugière (227 n. 76) identified these events with the war of 440–2, with the king as Yazdgard II (438–57), and suggested that Vahram was an error for Kavadh; but Evagrius' reference to Socrates makes this most unlikely, and Kavadh was in any case the son of Peroz. Evagrius' chronology in this section is confused, and his omission of the later war is in keeping with the muddle.

168 The eastern campaign of 502/3, which included the Persian capture of Amida, was the last major event reported by Eustathius, who appears to have died in 502/3: cf. iii.37, with notes; also the section on Evagrius' sources in the Introduction (xxvi above). The war

They say that both Claudian and Cyrus the poets were conspicuous then, that Cyrus also ascended the supreme seat of the prefects which our predecessors called the prefect of the court, and that he commanded the western forces when Carthage was conquered by the Vandals and Geiseric was leader of the barbarians.[169]

20 Now, this Theodosius married Eudocia after she had partaken of the saving baptism; she was an Athenian by birth, well-spoken and beautiful in appearance; the intermediary for him was the empress Pulcheria, his sister.[170] By this woman a child was born to him, Eudoxia, whom subsequently, when she reached the age of marriage, the emperor Valentinian betrothed; he set out from the elder Rome and came to the city of Constantine.[171] Some time later, when Eudocia was travelling towards the holy city of Christ our God, she came here and in a public speech to the populace here she concluded her speech with this line, **[29]**

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of 421 / 2 was narrated by Olympiodorus, a historian whom Evagrius does not mention, that of 440–2 by Priscus.

169 This poetic duo is somewhat odd, and reflects Evagrius' vague awareness of fifth-century affairs; both authors were Christians, but neither was renowned for his beliefs, unlike Isidore and Synesius who are discussed in i.15. Although Claudian came from Egypt and wrote some Greek works (e.g. a *Gigantomachy* of which fragments survive), he is famous for his Latin panegyrics composed in Italy during Honorius' reign, mainly for the emperor and his principal supporter, Stilicho; he probably died before 408. For full discussion, see Alan Cameron, *Claudian*.

Cyrus was also an Egyptian, from Panopolis, and came to prominence at Constantinople through the patronage of the empress Eudocia; he was twice urban prefect, and was distinguished for holding the urban and praetorian prefectures concurrently in 439–41. Like Eudocia he was a victim of the eunuch Chrysaphius, and fell from favour in 441 (Alan Cameron, 'Empress' 254–70; in 443 according to Holum, *Empresses* 192); he was relegated to Cotyaeum, where he was made bishop, but returned to Constantinople after Theodosius' death. For his career, see *PLRE* II. 336–9 *s.v.* Cyrus 7 (correcting Evagrius' ἑσπερίων to ἑῴων, 'western' to 'eastern', since Cyrus never held office in the West); also Alan Cameron, 'Empress' 221–5.

Carthage fell to the Vandals on 19 October 439. Geiseric had led the Vandals into Africa in 429, a year after becoming king, and he ruled until 477.

170 A long and somewhat romantic account of Pulcheria's discovery of Eudocia as wife for her brother is recorded in Malalas, 352:8–355:10; the marriage was celebrated on 7 June 421. Holum, *Empresses* 112–21; Alan Cameron, 'Empress' 270–9.

171 Eudoxia was born on 2 January 423, and betrothed to the five-year-old Valentinian in 424; the marriage was celebrated on 29 October 437.

Of your race and blood I am proud to be[172]

alluding to the colonies that were sent here from Greece.[173] If anyone is curious to know about these, it has been narrated comprehensively by the geographer Strabo, Phlegon and Diodorus of Sicily, as well as Arrian and the poet Pisander, and furthermore Ulpian and Libanius and Julian the superlative sophists.[174] And the sons of the Antiochenes honoured her with a statue artfully fashioned from bronze, which is preserved even to our time.[175] As a result of her entreaty Theodosius added a very great area to the city, by extending the wall as far as the gate which leads to the suburb of Daphne: those who wish may see it, for the ancient wall may be traced even to our day, since its remnants guide the gaze. But there are some who say that the elder Theodosius

172 Eudocia made two visits to the Holy Land, passing through Antioch on each occasion (Evagrius, i.20). It is normal to connect this speech with the first visit in 438 (e.g. Downey, *Antioch* 450–1; Holum, *Empresses* 117), but the second visit in the early 440s cannot be excluded (Whitby & Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 75, n. 251).

The verse is adapted from Homer, *Iliad* vi.211; xx.241.

173 Most modern scholars accept the ancient tradition, which goes back to Malalas at least, that Eudocia was Athenian by birth, but could claim affinity with the Antiochenes since some of the original settlers of Antioch in 300 BC had come from Athens via the short-lived Antigonia (Downey, *Antioch* 79–80; Malalas 211:19 is explicit). Holum (*Empresses* 116–18), however, urged that she was actually from Antioch, but such a literal interpretation goes against Eudocia's penchant for recherché allusions (cf. Malalas 357:21–358:1, on her rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem); the indications that she may have patronized the construction of a major church in Athens (Garth Fowden, 'Achaea' 558–62) also support a link with that city.

174 Evagrius clearly did not consult all of these authorities himself, but merely lifted the list from a more recent work. Those texts which survive in fact relate to the mythical beginnings of Antioch when Triptolemus set out from Argos in search of Io, who had been seduced by Zeus (Strabo xvi.5, C750; Libanius xi.44–51); Pisander of Laranda, who composed a treatise on divine unions with mortals under Severus Alexander (*c.* 230), will also have dealt with the mythical past, as too probably Ulpian of Emesa, a teacher of rhetoric at Antioch under Constantine, and Julian of Athens, a fourth-century sophist. Phlegon of Tralles and Arrian of Nicomedia, both Hadrianic authors, might have been interested in the historical foundation, but this cannot be determined; Diodorus, a universal historian of the first century BC, recorded the foundation in a lost part of his work.

175 *Chron. Pasch.* 585:12–14, and the Tusculan fragment of Malalas (this confirms that the information was in the original text of Malalas), record that a gilded statue was set up in the *bouleuterion* and a bronze one outside the Museum; *Chron. Pasch.* also states that they were still standing. For the affectation 'sons of the Antiochenes' cf. iii.10 (p. 109:9), iv.6 (p. 156:8–119), iv.35 (p. 185:14); cf. iv.26 (p. 173:1) for Apamea.

extended the wall.[176] And he donated gold coins weighing two hundred pounds for the bath of Valens which had been burned in part.[177]

21 From here then Eudocia came twice to Jerusalem. And for what reason or with what primary objective, as they say, must be left to the historians, even though they do not seem to me to be truthful.[178] Nevertheless, then, on coming to the holy city of Christ she did many things in honour of the saviour God, so that she built both sacred monasteries and the so-called *lavra*.[179] In these the regimen is

176 Malalas 346:5–347:5 attributed this southern extension to protect the expanding city to Theodosius I, at the instigation of the praetorian prefect Antiochus Chuzon; the reference to Antiochus Chuzon securely dates the event to the reign of Theodosius II, when two people of this name, grandfather and grandson, served as praetorian prefect in 430–1 and 448 respectively (*PLRE* II. 103–4, *s.v.* Antiochus 7 and 10). The new wall may incorrectly have been associated with Eudocia because of her involvement in the restoration of the wall of Jerusalem (Malalas 357:21–358:1). The new Daphne Gate was gilded and named the Golden Gate, perhaps in imitation of that at Constantinople. Discussion in Downey, *Antioch* 452–3 with map at plate 11 (which marks both the new wall and the old one of Tiberius); for the increasing population of Antioch in the late fourth century, see also Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 92–100.

177 The bath built by Valens was located near the Hippodrome (Malalas 339:17–18); he had taken great interest in its construction, and among the portents of his death were cries of heralds directing that wood be brought to the baths to burn them down (Ammianus xxxi.1.2). *Chron. Pasch.* (585:14–16) also records that Eudocia gave money to the city's grain fund.

178 For the dates, see n. 172 above. Socrates (vii.47.2) claimed that the (first) journey was to fulfil a vow to make a pilgrimage if she saw her daughter's marriage. The second visit, after which Eudocia remained in the Holy Land until her death, was connected with rumours of a liaison with Theodosius' friend, Paulinus (Malalas 356:17–357:20); Holum, *Empresses* 183–5, speculated that tensions within the imperial family, and in particular rivalry between the two Augustae, Pulcheria and Eudocia, may have been a factor in the earlier visit. Evagrius is characteristically reluctant to discuss an issue detrimental to the reputation of one of his favourites: cf. vi.3 (p. 224:14–18) for silence about Philippicus' achievements as general, and Theodoret, *EH* v.34.9, for a similar attitude.

179 Socrates (vii.47.3) refers to lavish gifts to Jerusalem's churches on her first visit; she attended the dedication of a church to Stephen and associated with the ascetic Melania the Younger (Holum, *Empresses* 185–9). Malalas, 357:21–358:1, records Eudocia's reconstruction of the city walls; the *Life* of Euthymius (35) reports the foundation of a large number of churches, monasteries, poor-houses and hospices, as well as other benefactions; specific mention is made of a church to Peter about 2.5 miles from the *lavra* of Euthymius and one to Stephen (cf. i.22, with n. 186 below). For one example of her benefactions, see Rufus, *Plerophories* 11, p. 27. In the Holy Land Eudocia also composed a number of Christian works in an elevated literary style: for an unsympathetic assessment of their quality, see Alan Cameron, 'Empress' 282–5.

different, but the organization results in a single objective dear to God.[180]

For those who live in groups are under the mastery of none of those things which weigh one down to earth; for they have no gold – but why should I mention gold when neither any garment nor anything edible is personal property. For the cloak or tunic which one now wears, this another dons after a short time, so that indeed the garment of all seems to belong to one and that of one to all. And a common table is set out not enriched with dainties nor any other **[30]** delicacies, but welcoming with greens and pulses alone which are supplied only to the extent of providing subsistence. They pass both days and nights in communal supplications to God, so wearing themselves down and so afflicting themselves with toils that one might think one saw them on earth as corpses without tombs. Some frequently perform what are called 'extras', fulfilling fasts for two or three days, while others do this even for five days or more indeed, and scarcely partake of essential sustenance.[181]

But then again others take an opposite course and confine themselves alone in little abodes that have such breadth and height that they cannot stand their bodies upright nor indeed lay themselves down at ease, remaining in caves and holes in the earth in accordance with the apostle's word.[182] Others becoming co-residents with wild beasts make their appeals to God even in trackless recesses of the earth. But yet another method has been devised by them, which transcends the capacity of all courage and endurance: for setting themslves loose in the scorched desert and covering only the essentials of nature – both men and women – they commit the rest of their body naked to extreme frosts and baking

180 Eudocia's involvement with the two different types of monastic community, the *lavra* or collection of anchorites who lived in separate huts under the control of a single abbot, and the *coenobium* in which a more communal style of life was practised, is treated as an opportunity for an excursus on the different types of contemporary asceticism; it is noticeable that nothing is said about the organization of the *lavra*. Sozomen had described monastic customs in general (i.12), and in his review of the holy men of different regions (vi.28–34) gave information about some ascetic practices.

181 This treatment of the coenobitic life seems slightly defensive, and the anchoretic regime of the *lavra* was regarded as superior by some (*Life* of Sabas 45, p. 166:24–6). Symeon Stylites the Elder, while in the monastery at Teleda, imposed extra afflictions on himself, such as week-long fasts, but these provoked jealousies within the monastic community and led to his expulsion (Theodoret, *RH* 26.5).

182 Hebrews 11.38. For this practice, cf. Theodoret, *RH* 3.5; 27.2.

winds, disregarding heat and cold equally. And they completely cast off human sustenance and feed off the earth – they call them 'Grazers' – furnishing from there only their subsistence, so that in time they also come to resemble wild beasts, with their appearance distorted and their mind thereafter incompatible with mankind; on seeing men they even run, and on being pursued procure for themselves escape either through swiftness of foot or through one of the impassible places on earth.[183]

[31] And I will tell of another type also, which almost escaped me, although it has highest honour in the eyes of all. They are very few, but nevertheless there are those who, when through virtue they have achieved absence of passion, return to the world in the midst of its turmoils.[184] By proclaiming themselves mad, they thus trample down vainglory, which, according to the wise Plato, is the last garment that the soul naturally casts off;[185] so their practice is to eat without passion, even if needs be among shopkeepers or traders, feeling shame before neither place nor person nor anything at all. And they frequent the public baths, generally mixing and washing with the women, being in such control of the passions that they even play the tyrant over nature, and neither by sight, nor by touch nor even indeed by actual embrace of a female do they revert to their own nature; among men they are men, among women in turn women, wishing to share in the nature of each and not to be of one nature. So to speak briefly, in this absolutely excellent and inspired life virtue has fixed its own laws and legislates in opposition to nature, so that they partake of none of the very necessities to the point of satiety. And their own law imposes on them hunger and thirst,

183 Sozomen's chapter on the monks of Syria includes a description of the Grazers (vi.33.2); cf. also Theodoret, *RH* 1.2, Rufus, *Plerophories* 31, for specific examples (Jacob of Nisibis; Heliodorus of Cilicia), and other references in Allen, *Evagrius* 92 n. 82. It was common for ascetics to try to shun the publicity which their holiness attracted, e.g. Theodoret, *RH* 15.1–2, the case of Acepsimas whom no one saw or spoke to for 60 years (and someone who eventually did see him mistook him for a wolf).

184 The last category of ascetic is the Holy Fool, or *salos*. The best-attested contemporary example was Symeon of Emesa, some of whose actions Evagrius later described (iv.34), and this passage is almost a synopsis of Symeon's behaviour; early in his ascetic career Symeon had been a Grazer (*Life* 133:2–11), and so his progression is reflected in the order of Evagrius' treatment: Ryden, 'Fool' 108–9, in fact suggested that Symeon's biographer, Leontius, was influenced by the order of material in Evagrius. In general on *saloi*, see Krueger, *Symeon* ch. 4.

185 A saying attributed to Plato in Athenaeus xi, 507D, and paraphrased in Evagrius' description of Symeon the Fool (iv.34, p. 182:27).

and to clothe the body only to the extent that necessity compels. Their way of life is so counterbalanced on precise scales that when they move between extremes the tilting is imperceptible to them, even when there is considerable difference between these. For to such an extent are the opposites combined in them, since the divine grace brings together the unmixable and in turn separates it out again, that life and the corpse cohabit in them, things which are opposites both by nature and in reality. For where there is passion, they must be corpses and inside tombs, but where there is supplication to God, they must be robust in body and vigorous in strength even if they have passed beyond youth. And in them the two lives are so interwoven that **[32]** in fact, while rejecting the flesh completely, they both continually live and consort with the living, applying remedies to bodies and conveying the voices of suppliants to God; they conduct themselves in other respects just like their earlier existence, except they do not lack essentials and are not circumscribed in place – rather they listen to everyone and associate with everyone. They perform frequent and uninterrupted bendings of knees and earnest risings, with zeal alone rekindling in them their youth and voluntary weakness: they are like bodiless athletes, bloodless wrestlers, who consider the fast as complete banquet and indulgence and the ability to taste nothing as a satiating spread. Whenever a stranger comes among them, even if at dawn, in turn they welcome him with such hospitality and affection, considering eating when they do not wish as another form of fasting; hence the matter is a marvel, that, when in need of so much for self-sufficient nourishment, they thus have quite sufficient in a short time. Enemies of their personal wishes and nature, they are surrendered to the wills of those at hand, in order that the pleasure of the flesh may be constantly thrust away by them and the soul might give direction by selecting with discrimination and preserving the finest things and those pleasing to God. They are blessed in their life here, but more blessed in their removal from here, for which they constantly yearn in eagerness to see the one whom they desire.

22 Now, after the spouse of Theodosius had conversed with many such men and, as has been said by me, had founded many such monasteries and, furthermore, had also restored the walls of Jerusalem to a better state, she also raised up a very great sanctuary of Stephen the first deacon and martyr, outstanding in size and beauty, not one stade distant from Jerusalem; she too was placed in this after she departed to

the life without age.[186] After these things, or indeed as some think before Eudocia, Theodosius too passed from one kingdom to another,[187] **[33]** and the most excellent Marcian, who had served this man for 38 years,[188] assumed the Roman realm. And so what was done by him during his leadership of the East, the subsequent history will set out exceedingly clearly, if the help from on high furnishes its particular favour.

End of 1st book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius.

186 The best-known ascetics with whom Eudocia was in contact were Melania the Younger, Barsauma the Syrian, the abbot Euthymius, and Symeon Stylites the Elder. For her monastic foundations, cf. n. 179 above, and Malalas 357:21–358:1 for the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls. The church of Stephen was still unfinished when it was dedicated on 15 June 460, but Euthymius had already prophesied her death and she was in a hurry to tidy up her affairs (*Life* of Euthymius 35); she died on 20 October 460.

187 Theodosius died on 28 July 450, a decade before Eudocia. Although Malalas did not explicitly record Eudocia's death, the fact that he mentioned her dying oath in the context of the accusation of adultery with Paulinus (358:3–4) would have implied that she predeceased her husband.

188 There is a minor textual problem over the case of διακονησάμενος, 'served' (nominative, agreeing with Marcian) which is the reading of one fourteenth-century MS (*Baroccianus* 142). Other MSS read διακονησαμένην (accusative, which makes no sense). Editors have emended this either to the genitive διακονησαμένου (masculine, agreeing with Theodosius with βασιλείαν 'kingdom' as object; but this does not represent his 42 regnal years and leaves τούτῳ, 'this man', unintelligible) or to διακονησαμένης (feminine, agreeing with Eudocia; almost correct for the period between her imperial marriage and her death, but wrong for the period of her 28-year marriage to Theodosius and in any case the notion of the empress 'serving' her husband is strange). Thurmayr, *Studien* 48–9, and Festugière 233–4, n. 97 (independently) justified the nominative. I follow their interpretation, though not without qualms. It should be noted that the *Baroccianus* reads τούτων (genitive plural) for the grammatically correct dative τούτῳ (a scribe perhaps assumed that Marcian should have served both emperor and empress, and did not know the correct case to use). Also, although 'exchange kingdoms' is used elsewhere to describe imperial death (ii.8, of Marcian) so that 'pass from one kingdon to another' seems a likely conceit, the word order is strained by this reconstruction. Marcian was born in 396, and enrolled in the army as an ordinary soldier, so presumably at a young age and perhaps as early as 412, which would give him 38 years in imperial service.

[34] THESE ARE THE CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS

17. Concerning the death of Leo, and the reign of Leo the Younger, and then of his father Zeno.

18. Epitome of what was set in motion at the Synod at Chalcedon, which is placed at the end of the second Book.

CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS THE EX-PREFECT OF EPIPHANIA[1]

1. Concerning Emperor Marcian, and what came before to predict imperial rule for him.

2. Concerning the Synod at Chalcedon, and whence Anatolius had the origin of the gathering.

3. Description of the house of prayer of the holy Euphemia, and an account of the wonders which occur in it.

4. Concerning the objects of strife and definition at Chalcedon.

5. Concerning the unrest which occurred at Alexandria, as a result of the election of Proterius, similarly too at Jerusalem.

6. Concerning the drought which occurred, and famine and plague.

7. Concerning the murder of Valentinian and Rome's capture; and concerning others who ruled it.

8. Concerning the election of Timothy Aelurus and the death of Proterius and what was written by Leo concerning him.

9. Concerning the Encyclicals of Leo.

10. Concerning what the bishops and Symeon on the column responded.

11. Concerning the exile of Timothy and the election of the other Timothy, and of Gennadius and Acacius of Constantinople.

12. Concerning Antioch's earthquake, 347 years after that under Trajan.

13. Concerning the fire at Constantinople.

14. Concerning universal misfortunes.

15. Concerning the marriage of Zeno and Ariadne.

1 Bidez–Parmentier (34–5) present this list, which is preserved in *Laurentianus* 70, as though it was a variant version of that in *Laurentianus* 79, *Patmiacus* 688 and *Baroccianus* 142. But this list begins 'Chapters' (Κεφάλαια), just as the lists for Books ii and iii in *Laurentianus* 70, and is also slightly briefer than the alternative. For these reasons it deserves to be presented separately.

[36] BOOK II OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS OF EPIPHANIA, *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT

1 What happened in the time of Theodosius has been treated in the first book. Well then,[1] let us bring Marcian the celebrated Roman emperor to the fore, and first narrate who he was and whence and how he secured the empire of the Romans; let us thus expound at the appropriate times what happened under him.[2]

Now Marcian, as narrated by many others and especially by Priscus the *rhetor*, was of Thracian descent, the child of a military man; in his eagerness to take up the livelihood of his father he had made a start for Philippopolis,[3] where he could be enrolled in the military regiments. On the way he observed a newly slain body that was lying on the ground; he approached this, since in addition to his absolute excellence in other respects he was particularly compassionate, he lamented what had happened and for a long time suspended his journey, as he wished to bestow the appropriate rites. But when some people observed this they informed the officials in Philippopolis, who arrested Marcian and interrogated him about the murder. And then, while conjectures and probabilities were prevailing over the truth and his story, as he was denying the man's killing and **[37]** was on the point of paying penalty for murder, a sudden divine intervention delivered up the murderer.[4] This man, by laying aside his head in punishment for the deed, granted

1 A common way of introducing a new topic: cf. i.15 (Synesius). Allen, *Evagrius* 96, appositely comments on the legal flavour of the introduction, and compares i.7 (see i n. 67 above); there is also an epic flavour to the 'who . . . whence . . . how' sequence.

2 Cf. i.1, p. 6:32–3, for 'the appropriate times'.

3 Modern Plovdiv, an important city on the main highway from Constantinople across the Balkans to the middle Danube and a convenient centre for recruiting the inhabitants of the Rhodope and Stara Planina mountain ranges.

4 For a similar miracle, cf. *Letter to Cosmas* 14, where a corpse is resuscitated at the tomb of Nestorius, thereby saving John, who guarded the tomb, from an accusation of murder.

Marcian his head.[5] When he had thus been unexpectedly saved he came to one of the military units there, wishing to enlist in it. In admiration for the man and correctly judging that he would be great and most eminent, they accepted him gladly and enrolled him among their own number, not at the bottom, as military law demands, but at a rank of a man who had recently died, whose name was Augustus, writing 'Marcian who is also Augustus' in the register. Hence the name anticipated the appellation of our emperors, in that they are called Augusti on being invested with the purple. As if the name did not tolerate remaining with him without the rank, nor yet in turn did the rank seek another name for enhancement, so his personal name and appellation were established as the same, since rank and public appellation were indicated through a single term.[6]

And something else perchanced which can indicate Marcian's imperial position. For when he accompanied Aspar on campaign against the Vandals he became a captive along with many others, after Aspar had been heavily defeated by the Vandals; he was led across a plain with the other prisoners, since Geiseric wanted to see those who had been enslaved.[7] When they had been assembled, Geiseric sat in one of the upper rooms, taking pleasure in the quantity of those who had been netted. As time passed, they acted as each thought best, since the guards had undone their bonds on Geiseric's instructions. And so each behaved in different ways. But Marcian lay down on the plain and went

5 Cf. v.11 for Divine Providence protecting Tiberius. For word play in imperial descriptions, cf. vi.1 with n. 1 below.

6 For full references on Marcian, see *PLRE* II. 714–15, *s. v.* Marcianus 8. The explanation for Marcian's advancement was, perhaps, that his father was a soldier who had died in action: in 594 Maurice enacted that such orphans be enrolled at their father's rank, up to that of *biarchus*, and there was certainly comparable earlier legislation: Jones, *LRE* 675. The use of Augustus as a personal name is very rare (only one instance in *PLRE*). There is no parallel for the story, and Festugière (238 n. 2) suggested that it might have been invented by Evagrius; certainly the sententious comment about the name Augustus is typical of Evagrius' style.

Such omens and predictions of imperial succession are common: cf. v.21 (with notes) for Maurice, or *Life* of Eutychius 66–9 for predictions about Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice.

7 The Vandals crossed into Africa in May 429 and rapidly achieved sweeping successes against the Romans under Boniface, who was besieged in Hippo; in 431 Aspar led an eastern army to rescue Boniface, but was defeated. Aspar remained in Africa until 434 and probably arranged the treaty of February 435, which ceded to the Vandals Mauretania and the western part of Numidia in return for tribute. Marcian was Aspar's *domesticus*, a combination of bodyguard, attendant and adviser.

to sleep in the sun, which was hot and fiery, out of keeping with the season of the year;[8] but an eagle stationed itself up above and making its flight antithetical to the sun in the vertical axis, like a cloud devised shade and hence relief **[38]** for Marcian. In amazement Geiseric correctly conjectured the future; he had Marcian summoned and released him from captivity, after confirming with strong oaths that after coming to the kingship he would indeed preserve the agreements with the Vandals and would not mobilize arms against them. And Procopius narrates that Marcian preserved this in practice.[9] But, let us abandon the digression and return to the matter in hand.

Marcian was pious in divine matters and just in matters relating to his subjects.[10] He regarded as wealth not what was stored away, nor indeed what was collected by tax-gatherers but one thing alone: the ability to provide for the needy and to make their wealth secure for those with substantial property.[11] He was not terrifying in punishment, but in

8 Procopius, who also records this miracle (*Wars* iii.4.1–11), states that this occurred in summer, at midday, so that Evagrius has improved the nature of the miracle. It is likely that Priscus was the ultimate source for this story. Monophysite writers recorded hostile predictions of Marcian's reign: an old monk said that the impious emperor Marcian would force bishops to deny that the crucified one was God, a symbolic darkness covered the earth at his accession, while an abbot predicted twenty years in advance that Marcian would lead the bishops away from God and the Antichrist would arrive soon after the end of his reign (Rufus, *Plerophories* 7, 12).

9 In addition to this miracle (104:19–105:4) Theophanes also records another version, associated with the Persian war of 421/2, when the shadowing eagle was observed in Lycia by the brothers Tatianus and Julius, who had cared for Marcian during an illness (103:33–104:19).

There are other explanations for Marcian's failure to fight the Vandals while emperor, for example the chaos in the Balkans caused by Attila in the 440s, and the danger of further Hunnic attacks, though Blockley, *Historians* I. 66, is probably right to detect an attempt by writers favourable to Marcian to excuse his inaction.

10 As the emperor responsible for Chalcedon, Marcian evoked diametrically opposite assessments from ecclesiastical writers: for a summary of views, see Allen, *Evagrius* 97–8. For praise of other favourite emperors of Evagrius, cf. v.13 (Tiberius) and vi.1 (Maurice).

11 In 447 Attila's demands for subsidies had led Theodosius to increase taxation, and the pitiful plight of senatorial families forced to contribute is described by Priscus (fr. 9.3:22–33) and Nestorius (*Bazaar* 341–2). The fact that Attila had turned his attentions west allowed Marcian to take a hard line with the Huns and withhold payments. As a result tax concessions were possible, which particularly benefited senators through the abolition of the *follis* or *collatio glebalis* (a surtax on senators introduced by Constantine: Zosimus ii.38.4) and the termination of lavish expenditure on magisterial games; tax arrears for the years 437–47 were also remitted, which would have helped a rather wider section of the population (Jones, *LRE* 219).

advance of punishment; accordingly he held the realm as a prize of virtue, not an inheritance, after the senate and others who filled every position had provided the imperial power to him unanimously, on the advice of Pulcheria. Her indeed he took to wife as empress, but he did not have intercourse and she remained a perpetual virgin until old age.[12] This happened even though Valentinian the emperor of Rome had not yet ratified the election; still, when he had confirmed the vote on account of Marcian's virtue, Marcian wished that a common worship be given to God by everyone, once the voices that had been muddled through impiety were again piously united, and that the Divinity should be glorified through one and the same creed.[13]

2 Now while he was deliberating on these matters, the men acting on the instructions of Leo the bishop of elder Rome approached him, saying that at the Second Synod at Ephesus Dioscorus had not accepted the Tome of Leo, which was a definition of orthodoxy;[14] so too did those

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For Marcian's generosity, cf. Georgius Monachus ii. 611:12–17, and for other praise of imperial generosity, Evagrius v.13, p. 209:14–26 (Tiberius).

12 Holum, *Empresses* 208–9, accepted the importance of Pulcheria's role in the succession, but, in an exhaustive analysis of the sources, Burgess ('Accession') has argued that she was no more than a pawn whom Aspar exploited. Although it would be surprising if Aspar did not have a hand in the elevation of his former *domesticus* (cf. Zuckerman, 'Huns' 176), quite possibly in collaboration with the *magister militum* Zeno (Lee, 'Empire' 43), Burgess' scepticism seems excessive: an Augusta could take the initiative in a dynastic crisis (cf. Ariadne in 491, or Sophia in 574), and an unconsummated marriage need not have been regarded as totally abnormal in a devout Christian context; further, the one-month interregnum between Theodosius' death on 28 July and Marcian's proclamation on 25 August is not suspicious, since the empire was legally under the sole rule of Valentinian III (there was a five-month 'gap' between the death of Valens and the proclamation of Theodosius I). Rufus, *Plerophories* 3, records a vision of the priest Pelagius that Pulcheria would be unfaithful both to orthodoxy (through promoting Chalcedon) and to her vow of virginity.

13 Valentinian, senior Augustus after Theodosius' death, was not consulted about the succession. Evagrius hints at a link between Marcian's organization of the Council of Chalcedon, which was to uphold the views of Pope Leo, and his official recognition by the West in 452. The Monophysite tradition naturally exploited the technical illegality of Marcian's accession: John of Nikiu 87.36; Michael the Syrian viii.9, II. p. 36.

14 There are several letters from Leo to Marcian complaining about Second Ephesus: *ACO* II.i.1, no. 12 (pp. 25:7–27:18); II.iv.39, 41, 47; the people responsible for delivering the letter may have been the presbyters Faustus and Martin, who were representing the Pope's interests in Constantinople in 450, or perhaps one of the numerous messengers who travelled between Pope and imperial court in 450/1, e.g. the presbyter Boniface or the *agens*

who, insulted by the same Dioscorus, petition that the accusations against them **[39]** should be judged by a synod.[15] Eusebius, who had been prelate of Dorylaeum, was particularly insistent, saying that he and Flavian had been deposed by the machinations of Chrysaphius, the bodyguard of Theodosius, on the grounds that when Chrysaphius had demanded gold Flavian had at his own appointment sent him sacred vessels to humiliate him, and that Chrysaphius stood very close to Eutyches in terms of heresy.[16] He said that Flavian had also been wretchedly slain by being shoved and kicked by Dioscorus.[17] As a result of this the Synod at Chalcedon was convened, after messages and message-bearers had been sent and priests from all parts were summoned by sacred missives;[18] initially it was to be at Nicaea – thus indeed Leo, the prelate of Rome, wrote to those who had assembled at Nicaea, when he corresponded with them concerning the men whom he had sent in his own place, Pascasianus, Lucensius and others[19] – but subsequently it was held at Chalcedon in the province of Bithynia.[20]

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in rebus Theoctistus (*PLRE* II. 1066, *s.v.* Theoctistus 2). Zachariah (iii.1, p. 42) also refers to letters of Leo which commended Theodoret to Marcian and Pulcheria.

15 For the proceedings of Second Ephesus, which Dioscorus had controlled, see i.10 above, with notes. Theodoret of Cyrrhus was the most prominent of the deposed bishops.

16 For Chrysaphius, the *spatharius* and *cubicularius* (bodyguard and chamberlain) of Theodosius II, see i. n. 81 above. Gregory (*Vox* 155 n. 19) speculated that hostility between Chrysaphius and Flavian predated the latter's appointment as patriarch of Constantinople. Theophanes, 98:11–18, has a similar story in which Chrysaphius persuaded the emperor to demand a golden present from the patriarch, and Nestorius, *Bazaar* 341–2, states that Flavian actually had to melt down the church plate to satisfy an insulting demand for money from Theodosius II.

17 Although Flavian was beaten up after being deposed at Second Ephesus in August 449 (*Bazaar* 361–2), he did not die until after leaving the Council for his journey into exile. For full discussion, and the speculation that Flavian may not have died until February 450 (perhaps with the connivance of the new Constantinopolitan patriarch, Anatolius), see Chadwick, 'Exile'.

18 The technical term for imperial letters, *litterae sacrae*.

19 *ACO* II.i.1, no. 17, pp. 31–2.

20 Nicaea was the original choice of venue to recall the First Ecumenical Council, whose decisions were now supposed to be ratified by another meeting under close imperial control. Marcian next ordered the move to Chalcedon to bring the bishops nearer to Constantinople, where urgent public business was detaining the emperor (*ACO* II.i.1, no. 14; pp. 28:10–29:3). Marcian then excused himself further on the grounds that events in Illyricum forced him to make an expedition there, though he promised not to undertake further trips (*ACO* II.i.1, no. 16; p. 30). Marcian's departure from the capital is cited as a rare example of an

Zacharias the *rhetor* indeed, through bias, says that even Nestorius was summoned from his exile. But the fact that Nestorius was consistently anathematized by the Synod demonstrates that this was not the case.[21] This is also quite clearly revealed by Eustathius, the bishop of Beirut, writing in these words to a bishop John and to another John, an elder, concerning what had been transacted at the Synod: 'Those who sought the remains of Nestorius objected once again and shouted against the Synod, "Why are the saints anathematized?" The result was that the emperor in anger instructed the guardsmen to drive them far away.'[22] So, how Nestorius was invited when he had migrated from this world, I cannot say.

3 Accordingly they convened at the holy precinct of the martyr Euphemia,[23] which is situated at the city of the Chalcedonians in the

imperial military campaign (e.g. Kaegi, *Unrest* 20), but Attila was currently invading Gaul with his Huns and there is no record of any other military crisis; the mission may have been to resolve administrative matters (cf. Theodosius' visit to Asia in 443).

Concern about the maintenance of order at Nicaea may also have been a factor in the move: in a letter to the governor of Bithynia, Pulcheria refers to a report that trouble-makers, laymen as well as clergy and monks, were gathering to disrupt proceedings, and Marcian specifically reassured the bishops that the partisans of Eutyches woud not be allowed to influence the Council (*ACO* II.i.1, pp. 29:17–29; 30:21–9).

Michael the Syrian (viii.10, II. p. 39) states that an earthquake prevented the Council from meeting at Nicaea; Zachariah, less specifically, that Providence was responsible (iii.1, p. 43); in each case divine disapproval of the choice of Nicaea for a 'heretical' gathering is indicated.

21 Evagrius is slightly imprecise: Zachariah (iii.1, p. 42) stated that Marcian sent a messenger to recall Nestorius, but the latter died when he was setting out (cf. i. n. 77 above); the fact that Nestorius was anathematized at Chalcedon does not disprove this earlier imperial initiative, since Marcian presumably intended to allow the exiled patriarch a chance to present his case.

22 Eustathius of Beirut had been one of the leaders at Second Ephesus, and was threatened with punishment at Chalcedon; Zachariah (iii.1, p. 47) records that Eustathius annotated his subscription to the Acts of Chalcedon to the effect that he was signing under compulsion (Allen, *Evagrius* 100, incorrectly describes him as a diphysite), so it is not surprising that he recorded anti-Nestorian actions. His correspondents are unknown. Again, the evidence does not support Evagrius' assertion: indeed, the demand for the return of his remains would make more sense if Marcian had recalled Nestorius from exile.

23 Euphemia, a native of Chalcedon, died in the persecution of Diocletian or Galerius. Asterius of Amasea described a painting of her martyrdom which was on display in the church (translation in Mango, *Art* 37–9).

Bithynian province, but is distant no more than two stades from the Bosporus,[24] on a gentle incline in pleasant country, so that the progression is imperceptible **[40]** for those setting out for the martyr's church – and suddenly on arriving inside the sanctuary they are high up. As a result the gaze stretches out from a viewing point to contemplate everything, plains lying below, level and outspread, green with grass, waving with crops and beautified by the prospect of all kinds of trees, thicketed mountains rising pleasingly and curving to a height, as well as varying seas, now purple in calm, playing sweet and gentle on the shores where the place is windless, now spluttering and angry with waves, drawing back pebbles and seaweed and the lighter shellfish with the waves' backwash.[25] The precinct is opposite Constantinople, so that the church is also beautified by the prospect of so great a city. The precinct consists of three huge structures: one is open-air, adorned with a long court and columns on all sides, and another in turn after this is almost alike in breadth and length and columns but differing only in the roof above.[26] On its northern side towards the rising sun there stands a circular dwelling with a rotunda, encircled on the interior with columns fashioned with great skill, alike in material and alike in magnitude. By these an upper part is raised aloft under the same roof, so that from there it is possible for those who wish both to supplicate the martyr and to be present at the services.[27] Inside

24 The precise location of the church is unknown: for discussion, see Schneider, 'Euphemia', who places it to the north of Chalcedon itself. It was already in existence by the late fourth century, when it was visited by the pilgrim Egeria (*Travels* 23.7).

25 Evagrius exploits the allusion to the view from the church to display his literary skill by introducing an *ecphrasis*, though the extended description also provides a suitably grand introduction to the account of the Council of Chalcedon. For *ecphrases* of a beautiful location, cf. Procopius, *Buildings* i.5.7–13 (the Bosporus with its wooded shores and meadows, and the Golden Horn whose calm contrasts with the more turbulent conditions in the Bosporus), Paul the Silentiary, *Ecphrasis* 289–95 (the beauties of the earth), and Theophylact ii.11.4–8 (Sabulente Canalion). Evagrius had probably visited the famous shrine, and perhaps even witnessed Euphemia's miraculous effusions, but this general description of nature is too rhetorical to be taken as definitive proof (*contra* Allen, *Evagrius* 100).

26 This description indicates that the main part of the church was an aisled basilica, preceded by a large atrium, comparable to the design of old S. Peter's at Rome, and (probably) of churches of the Constantinian dynasty at Constantinople (e.g. S. Mocius). The analysis of Allen, *Evagrius* 100–101, conflates the basilica and rotunda.

27 The circular martyrion was presumably built over the actual site of Euphemia's death or burial, and the main part of the church had then to be accommodated to its location (for discussion of the organization of martyr churches, see Mango, *Architecture* 44–6). Schneider, 'Euphemia' 298, inferred that the main church must have had a transept for the altar to

the rotunda, towards the east, is a well-proportioned shrine, where the all-holy remains of the martyr lie in a lengthy coffin – some call it a sarcophagus[28] – which is very skilfully fashioned from silver.

And the miracles performed by the all-holy lady at certain times are manifest to all Christians. For often, appearing as a dream to those who at the time were bishops of the said city, or even to some who were in other ways distinguished in their life, she orders them to attend on her and harvest a vintage at the precinct. **[41]** Whenever this became known to the emperors and the archbishop and the city, those who direct the sceptres and the sacred rites and the offices throng to the church along with all the remaining multitude, in their wish to participate in the celebrations. Then while everyone is watching, the prelate of the city of Constantine with his attendant priests goes inside the sanctuary where lies the all-holy body, as I have already mentioned. There is a small opening in the said coffin, on the left side, secured with small doors; through this they send in towards the all-holy remains a lengthy iron rod on which they have fastened a sponge; after turning the sponge around they draw back the iron towards themselves, filled with blood and numerous clots. Whenever the populace beholds this, it forthwith does obeisance, reverencing God. So great is the quantity of what is brought forth that both the pious emperors and all the assembled priests and furthermore the whole populace gathered together share richly in the distributions,[29] and it is sent forth throughout the whole wide world to those of the faithful who want it, and both the clots and the all-holy blood are preserved for ever, in no way changing to a different appearance. These matters are celebrated in a manner befitting God, not according to a certain fixed cycle but as the life of the presiding priest and the gravity of his habits wishes. And so men say that when an honourable person, distinguished for virtues, is at the helm this miracle

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have been visible from the martyrion's gallery. The building was quite large since it was used for the third session of the Council, at which over 200 bishops plus the necessary attendants (e.g. translators) were present (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 3–8).

28 The sense is correctly explained by Schneider, 'Euphemia' 298 n. 32, taking μάκρα as a contraction for μάκτρα (cf. Lampe *s.v.*). Bidez–Parmentier, unaware of this sense and regarding the translation 'long' as banal, cite Valesius' emendation ἄρκαν (Ark) as probable, but this is unnecessary. The sarcophagus was presumably contained within a ciborium.

29 Theophylact, who also describes the miraculous effusion (viii.14.3–5), says that the blood was distributed to the crowds in little glass vessels.

indeed happens particularly frequently, but that when it is not someone of this type such divine signs proceed rarely.[30] And I will tell of something which neither time nor occasion interrupts, nor indeed is there a distinction between believers and unbelievers, but it is sent forth for all equally. Whenever anyone comes here to the place where there is the precious coffin in which are the all-holy remains, he is filled with a fragrant odour beyond any familiar to men. For it is not like that gathered in meadows, nor indeed that emitted from one of the most fragrant things, nor yet such as a perfumer would create, but it is strange and **[42]** extraordinary, presenting through itself the power of its origins.[31]

4 Here convened the Synod that I have already mentioned,[32] with the bishops Pascasinus and Lucensius and the presbyter Boniface, as I have

30 Theophylact states that the effusion occurred annually, on Euphemia's feast day (16 September), and the predictability of the occurrence is presupposed by the story he relates of the Emperor Maurice's sceptical investigation of the miracle (viii.14.6–9): the shrine was stripped of its silver ornament and the grave placed under seal, but blood still gushed forth on the appointed day. See Grégoire, 'Euphémie'.

Such effusions were popular (cf. the martyr Glyceria at Heracleia), and shrines were under pressure to oblige: the mechanics have been discovered in the church of Demetrius at Thessalonica, where a system of pipes was installed at some point between the seventh and ninth centuries (Soteriou, *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ* 51–5).

31 A sweet smell was a sure sign of holiness; cf. Sozomen ix.2.13–14 for perfume revealing the location of lost relics. Theophylact notes that Euphemia's effusions contained certain natural aromatics (viii.14.5). The shrine of Sergius at Resafa had a basin for perfumed oil that possessed curative powers: Fowden, *Plain* 85–6.

32 After the digression about the Church of Euphemia, Evagrius resumes the narrative from the start of chapter 3. The full sessions of the Council of Chalcedon, which might have been attended by over 600 bishops or their deputies (numbers discussed in Hefele–Leclercq, II. 669; Honigmann, 'Members') plus secular officials and attendants, as well as the imperial couple on occasion, were held in the main church, the second of Evagrius' structures, though the third session, at which the bishops alone dealt with the case of Dioscorus, took place in the martyrion. Zonaras records a story that the martyrion was also used to adjudicate between the rival doctrinal formulae (xiii.25.3–16): each side produced a document setting out its views and these were placed inside Euphemia's coffin; after three days the 'orthodox' document of Anatolius was found in the martyr's right hand, while that of Dioscorus was at her feet. The story arose from the doctrinal negotiations conducted by Anatolius between 17 and 22 October which produced the Chalcedonian definition.

There is a clear narrative of proceedings by Bardy in Fliche and Martin, IV. 228–40; see also Gray, *Defense* ch. 2. Evagrius presents a selective paraphrase of the *acta* of Chalcedon: this concentrates on the reversal of the incorrect decisions of Second Ephesus, the deposition of Dioscorus, and the acceptance of a new doctrinal Formula which fully accorded with the Council of Nicaea and Cyril of Alexandria's views. Citation of documents validates the

said, deputizing for Leo, archbishop of the elder Rome,[33] with Anatolius, who was prelate of the city of Constantine, Dioscorus, Bishop of the Alexandrians' city, Maximus of Antioch and Juvenal of Jerusalem. Present with them were their attendant priests and those who occupy the eminences of the exalted senate.[34] To these Leo's deputies said that Dioscorus ought not to be seated among them: for this had been enjoined on them by their own Bishop Leo, and if they did not secure this, they would withdraw from the church. And when the senate enquired what in fact were the accusations against Dioscorus, they stated that he ought to render an account of his own judgement, since he had improperly assumed the guise of judge.[35] After this had been said and when Dioscorus had been seated in the central place by a vote of the senate, Eusebius demanded that the petition that had been presented by him to the emperor should be read out, saying as follows, word for word: 'I have been wronged by Dioscorus, the faith has been wronged, Bishop Flavian was murdered and together with me was unjustly deposed by him; command that my petitions be read out.' When this had been resolved, the petition obtained a reading, being expressed in the following phrases:[36]

> From Eusebius, the most lowly bishop of Dorylaeum, who is making the speech on behalf of himself, and of the orthodox

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presentation. The much longer version of the *acta* appended to this Book (ii.18) covers the same ground, with citation of some of the same material, but with much more attention devoted to Dioscorus, both the disrupted proceedings at Second Ephesus, which he had controlled, and his obstinate refusal to respond to the summons of the bishops at Chalcedon (cf. n. 153 below).

33 Pascasinus, Bishop of Lilybaeum in Sicily, was the leader of the Roman delegation; Lucensius was bishop of Herculanum or Asculanum.

34 The *acta* of Chalcedon begin with an impressive list of nineteen distinguished officials, or former officials, who were present (*ACO* II.i, pp. 55:7–56:1), headed by the *magister militum* (probably *praesentalis*) Anatolius, followed by the praetorian prefect Palladius, the city prefect Tatian, the *magister officiorum* Vincomalus, the *comes domesticorum* Sporacius, and the *comes rei privatae* Genethlius. The patrician Nomus, former *magister officiorum* and consul who is tenth in the list, had been associated with Chrysaphius in 449 as a prominent supporter of Eutyches.

This is Evagrius' first mention of Patriarch Anatolius who had succeeded Flavian in 449; for his silence, cf. i n. 96 above.

35 The first session of the Council, held on 8 October; *ACO* II.i, pp. 65:17–66:9.

36 *ACO* II.i, pp. 66:10–22; the petition was read out by the secretary Veronicianus. The opening address to the emperors Valentinian and Marcian is omitted, and a few minor divergences are noted in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*.

faith and of Flavian, the former bishop of Constantinople, who is with the saints.

It is an objective of your might to take forethought for all subjects and to stretch out a hand to all who are wronged, **[43]** but especially to those who minister in the priesthood. For in this indeed is served the Divinity by whom the imperial power and rule over human affairs is granted to you. Accordingly, since the faith in Christ and we ourselves have suffered many outrages contrary to all due order from Dioscorus, the most devout bishop of the metropolis of the Alexandrians, we are approaching your piety asking to obtain justice.

The facts of the matter are as follows: at the Synod which recently occurred at the metropolis of the Ephesians – would indeed that it had never occurred, so that it did not fill the whole world with evils and confusion – the good Dioscorus,[37] setting at nought consideration of justice and fear of God, being of the same doctrine and the same mind as the foolish-minded and heretical Eutyches, as he subsequently revealed himself, but being undetected by the multitude, using as an opportunity the accusation made by me against Eutyches, his fellow in doctrine, and the sentence brought against him by Bishop Flavian of holy estate, after assembling a multitude of unruly crowds and furnishing strength for himself through money, he polluted the pious worship of the orthodox, as far as was in his power, and corroborated the false doctrine of Eutyches the monk, which had from before and from the beginning been repudiated by the holy Fathers.[38] Accordingly, since his affronts against the faith in Christ and against us are not minor, we request and prostrate ourselves before your might to decree that the same most devout Bishop Dioscorus should make a defence against our accusations against him: namely that when the records of what had been done by him against us are read out at the holy Synod, by means of these we can reveal that he is indeed alienated from the orthodox faith, that he fortified a heresy which is filled with impiety,

37 Ironical, though the descriptions of Dioscorus as 'most devout' are standard titulature (Festugière 246 n. 28).

38 At the local Synod at Constantinople in 448 (see i.9 with n. 87 above), Eutyches was convicted of not accepting the Nicene doctrine of consubstantiality.

> and that he unjustly deposed us and **[44]** effected terrible things on us; we will do this once your sacred and adored instructions are sent to the holy and ecumenical Synod of the bishops, most beloved by God, to the effect that they should listen carefully to us and the aforesaid Dioscorus, and refer all the transactions to the cognizance of your piety, in accordance with the opinion of your immortal supremacy. And if we obtain this we shall send up incessant prayers on behalf of your eternal might, most sacred emperors.

After this, by common petition of Dioscorus and Eusebius the transactions in the second conclave in Ephesus were read out in public.[39] As for the detailed version of these, which is extended at great length but also encompassed in the proceedings at Chalcedon, I have appended this to the present book of the history, lest I seem to be long-winded to those who are eager for the end of the events;[40] thereby I have given an opportunity to those who wish to know everything minutely both to peruse them and to form an accurate impression of everything. But, to run over more important matters, I state that Dioscorus was discovered to have rejected the letter of Leo, the bishop of elder Rome, and in addition on a single day to have effected the deposition of Flavian, the bishop of New Rome, after arranging for the assembled bishops to subscribe to a blank sheet that actually contained the deposition of Flavian. For these reasons the men of the senatorial council decreed as follows:[41]

> Concerning the orthodox and universal faith we resolve to make a more precise investigation on the next day when the assembly is more complete.[42] But as for Flavian of pious memory and

39 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 67:20–6.

40 A summary of proceedings at Second Ephesus is included at ii.18, pp. 69:25–72:6. Cf. Zachariah ii.1 p. 18, iv.6 p. 73, for apologies for appearing wearisome and omission of material that could readily be found elsewhere.

41 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 195:10–24, with some deviations noted in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*.

42 The point, perhaps, was that because the reading of the whole of the proceedings of Second Ephesus, coupled with several interruptions of rival chanting, had taken a very long time, some bishops had slipped away. Evagrius has omitted Dioscorus' complaints about the participation of Theodoret (*ACO* II.i.1, pp. 96:28–97:14), though they are included in the longer summary at ii.18 (pp. 71:29–72:6): Theodoret, though reinstated at Chalcedon, was not part of the neo-Chalcedonian pantheon, having subsequently been jettisoned by

> Eusebius, the most devout bishop, from examination of what was done and decided and from the very words of those who were leaders of the Council then, who stated that they were mistaken and had deposed those men invalidly, **[45]** since they are revealed to have been unjustly deposed in that they committed no error concerning the faith, in accordance with the pleasure of God it seems to us to be just, if it is upheld by our most sacred and pious master, that upon Dioscorus, the most devout bishop of Alexandria, and Juvenal, the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, and Thalassius, the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia,[43] and Eusebius, the most devout bishop of Armenia,[44] and Eustathius, the most devout bishop of Beirut, and Basil, the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, who had held authority and were leaders at the Synod then, the same penalty should be inflicted by the holy Synod: in accordance with the canons these men should be estranged from the dignity of bishop, and all consequentials should be decided by the sacred eminence.

Next, when the depositions against Dioscorus concerning accusations and monies had been remitted to another meeting,[45] since Dioscorus, though summoned a second and a third time, did not present

Justinian in his Three Chapters initiative (see iv.38 with notes). Evagrius did not want to draw attention to an issue which might seem to give Dioscorus legitimate grounds for objecting to the authority of Chalcedon (cf. n. 69 below).

43 Juvenal and Thalassius had been named in a letter from the Emperor Theodosius as being certain to share Dioscorus' zeal for orthodoxy at Second Ephesus (*ACO* II.i.1, p. 74:20–21).

44 In fact Bishop of Ankara; the mistake is repeated at p. 73:2, but the correct see is recorded at p. 87:3.

45 It was in fact the third session of the Council, held on 13 October under the presidency of Pascasinus, which dealt with Dioscorus (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 3–42); the second session, on 10 October, was concerned with the true faith (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 69–84). Evagrius reflects the arrangement of proceedings in the Greek version of the *acta*, in which material was rearranged thematically into three sections, the reversal of Second Ephesus, questions of faith and promulgation of canons, and specific issues (for discussion of the earliest editions of the *acta* and changes, see Schwartz in *ACO* II.i.3, pp. XXII–XXX). The Greek versions of the *acta* inverted the second and third sessions, so that the Council's rejection of Second Ephesus was kept separate from discussions on matters of faith (Schwartz in *ACO* II.i.3, p. XXII; Bardy in Fliche and Martin, IV. 231 n. 2).

himself because of pretexts that he had stated,[46] those who deputized for Leo the bishop of elder Rome declared as follows, in these words:[47]

> The affronts of Dioscorus, the former bishop of the megalopolis of the Alexandrians, against the order of the canons and the ecclesiastical disposition have become manifest from the investigations already made in the first session and from what has been done today. For this man, to leave aside most matters, acting on his own authority and contrary to the canons, received into communion Eutyches, his fellow in doctrine, who had been canonically deposed by his very own bishop – by whom we mean our father among the saints, Bishop Flavian – before he had attended the Synod in the city of the Ephesians with the bishops beloved of God. But **[46]** to the latter the apostolic see accorded pardon for what had been done there by them that was not of their intention: these men indeed have to the present continued subservient to the most holy archbishop Leo and the whole holy and ecumenical Synod, for which reason he also received them into his communion as fellows in faith. But this man has persisted even to the present to be arrogant in those matters for which he ought to lament and to have bowed his head to the ground. In addition to this, he did not even concede that the letter of the blessed Pope Leo be read out, the one written by him to Flavian, who is remembered among the saints, even though he was frequently exhorted by those who had conveyed it that it be read out, and he had promised on oath to make the reading. Since this was not read, he filled the most holy churches throughout the universe with problems and harm.[48] But

46 The exchanges are included in the extracts from the *acta* at ii.18, pp. 74:7–76:14 (full version in *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 9:35–14:26, 25:7–27:16): Dioscorus first alleged that he was being prevented from attending by his guards, then demanded that the officials and senators who had presided at the earlier meeting should be present, then resorted to a plea of sickness which he combined with the demand for the presence not only of the officials but also the bishops who had shared the presidency at Second Ephesus.

47 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 28:24–29:20, with deviations noted in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*. Allen, *Evagrius* 102 (though incorrectly describing this text as a letter of Leo, whereas in fact it was the official pronouncement of his representatives) noted that the number of textual deviations had increased in the three successive documents cited so far in this chapter, though it is not possible to determine who was to blame for this carelessness.

48 These two key misdemeanours of Dioscorus are not mentioned in Evagrius' account of Second Ephesus at i.10.

> nevertheless, although such affronts had been committed by him, we aimed to accord him some clemency for his former impious action, as in the case of the other bishops beloved of God, even though they did not have similar authority to his in judgement. But since he outdistanced his former lawlessness with the subsequent one, and dared even to pronounce excommunication upon Leo,[49] the most holy and saintly archbishop of great Rome, and since in addition to this, when depositions filled with illegalities were brought against him to the holy and great Synod and after being canonically summoned once and twice and thrice by the bishops beloved of God he did not attend – stabbed, no doubt, by his own conscience – and **[47]** since he received unlawfully those who had been legally deposed by various Synods, he himself brought the verdict upon himself, by having variously trampled the ecclesiastical decrees. Wherefore the most holy and blessed archbishop of the great and elder Rome, Leo, through us and the current Synod, along with the thrice-blessed and far-famed Peter the apostle, who is a rock and foundation of the universal Church and the basis of the orthodox faith,[50] stripped him of episcopal rank and dissociated him from all priestly activity. Accordingly this holy and great Synod passes[51] a verdict in accordance with the canons upon the aforementioned Dioscorus.

When these had been ratified by the Synod and certain other matters transacted, those who had been deposed together with Dioscorus obtained restoration at the request of the Synod and with imperial assent.[52] And after other additional matters had been introduced into

49 It is not known exactly when Dioscorus excommunicated the Pope, but a likely occasion is when the bishops were beginning to gather at Nicaea in summer 451 (Bardy in Fliche and Martin IV. 228); this could have been one of the disorderly acts that persuaded Marcian to move proceedings to Chalcedon.

50 Leo deliberately exploited the Petrine inheritance of the Roman Church to bolster the universal authority of the Papacy: see Meyendorff, *Unity* 148–58.

51 The MSS of Evagrius have the present tense here, which Bidez–Parmentier emended to the future (with the force of an imperative), to accord with the *acta* and the second citation of this text at 79:4: but granted the carelessness of the copying in this text, it is preferable to keep the present tense.

52 This occurred at the fourth session of the Council, on 17 October, after the assembled bishops had individually confirmed their acceptance of the faith of Nicaea, Constantinople, Cyril and Leo: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 109:11–110:5.

the transactions,[53] a definition was pronounced which said the following in these very terms:[54]

> Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ said when confirming the knowledge of the faith for the disciples, 'My peace I give you, my peace I leave you',[55] so that no one should differ from his neighbour in the doctrines of piety but should in harmony make manifest the proclamation of truth.

And thereafter, when the holy creed of Nicaea had been read, and in addition that of the 150 Fathers,[56] they added:[57]

> Now for perfect recognition and confirmation of piety this wise and saving creed of divine charity is sufficient: for concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit it gives the complete exposition, and it presents the incarnation of the Lord to those who receive it faithfully. **[48]** But since the enemies of the truth are attempting to disavow the proclamation through their particular heresies and have brought forth empty words, some daring to debase the mystery of the Lord's dispensation for us and utterly denying the appellation Mother of God in respect of the Virgin,[58] others introducing confusion and mixture and foolishly reshaping as a unit the nature of the flesh and of the Divinity, and by confusion indulging in the monstrosity that the divine nature of the Only-begotten one was

53 This in fact glosses over a serious disruption to proceedings, when thirteen Egyptian bishops entered the Council to present a declaration of faith which neither condemned Eutyches nor accepted Leo's Tome (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 110:6–114:18); they were followed by groups of Constantinopolitan and Syrian monks whose opposition to the Council was so fierce that the session had to be terminated (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 114:2–121:5). These events are, however, included in the longer version of proceedings at ii.18, pp. 88:14–90:17.

54 At the fifth session of the Council on 22 October (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 126:12–130:11). This is a much more accurate transcription than the three preceding documents (Allen, *Evagrius* 102); deviations are noted in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*. Evagrius has omitted the disputes which preceded the construction of this new definition of faith, though they are included in the longer version at pp. 90:18–91:17. Most bishops saw no need for a new definition of faith, and were only coerced into acceptance by the combined insistence of imperial and papal representatives.

55 John 14.27.

56 I.e. that of the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (381).

57 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 128:15–130:11.

58 I.e. Nestorians.

passible,[59] for this reason, wishing to shut off from them every device against the truth, this now current holy, great and ecumenical Synod, defending the unshakability of the proclamation from before, determined first and foremost that the faith of the 318 holy Fathers should remain beyond challenge. And, on the one hand, on account of those who fight against the Holy Spirit,[60] it ratified the teaching concerning the essence of the Spirit which was handed down subsequently by the 150 Fathers who convened in the imperial city, which they made known to all, not as though they were introducing something deficient in their predecessors, but clarifying with written testimonies their own understanding concerning the Holy Spirit against those who were attempting to disavow its lordship.[61] While on the other hand, on account of those who dare to debase the mystery of the dispensation, by shamelessly and foolishly declaring that He who was born of the holy Virgin Mary was mere man,[62] it admitted as being concordant the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril, who was shepherd of the Church of the Alexandrians, which were written to Nestorius and the men of the East,[63] both as refutation of the lunacy of Nestorius, and as interpretation for those who in pious endeavour desire understanding of the saving creed. To these **[49]** it appropriately attached, for the confirmation of the correct doctrines, the letter of the prelate of the most great and elder Rome, the most blessed and most holy archbishop Leo, which was written to the archbishop Flavian, who is among the saints, for the destruction of the perversity of Eutyches, inasmuch as it accords

59 An accusation that was levelled against Monophysites, who were said to confuse the two separate natures in Christ; in 533 the Theopaschite doctrine, that the Christ who suffered in the flesh was one of the Trinity, was upheld by Justinian.

60 I.e Macedonians or Pneumatomachi, on which see i. n. 7 above.

61 It was vital not to imply that the Nicene formula was in any way deficient, since to tamper with it would risk reopening a difficult debate.

62 I.e. Nestorians.

63 Cyril's second letter to Nestorius and his later letter to John of Antioch: *ACO* I.i.1, no. 4; I.i.4, no. 127 (cf. ii.18 below, at nn. 195–6). These letters jointly presented an orthodox Christological statement and confirmed the reunion of the two main eastern ecclesiastical blocks, Egypt and Oriens. The second letter to Nestorius, which had received overwhelming approval at First Ephesus (i. 4 with n. 36 above), was the crucial text: thus Pope Leo used it, in conjunction with his own Tome, as a test of orthodoxy (Leo, *Letter* 70, in *PL* 54).

with the confession of the great Peter and is a common monument against those of false doctrine.[64] For it ranges itself against those who attempt to split the mystery of the dispensation into a duality of sons; and it rejects from the congregation of the holy those who dare to say that the Divinity of the Only-begotten was passible; and it opposes those who contemplate a mixture or confusion with respect to the two natures of Christ; and it drives out those who commit the folly of believing that the form of the servant, which He derived from us, was of a heavenly or some other substance; and it anathematizes those who construct the myth that the natures of the Lord were dual before the union, but reshape them as one after the union.

Accordingly, following the holy Fathers,[65] we confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and we all unanimously expound that the same is complete in Divinity and the same is complete in humanity, truly God and truly man, the same being of a rational soul and a body, consubstantial with the Father in respect to Divinity and the same consubstantial with us in respect to humanity, being alike us in all respects except for sin;[66] whereas before eternity he was born of the Father in respect to Divinity, but at the end of days on account of us and our salvation the same was born of the Virgin Mary the Mother of God in respect to humanity; one and the same Jesus Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, made known in two natures without confusion, immutably, indivisibly, inseparably, since the **[50]** difference of the natures is in no way annihilated by the union, but rather the individuality of each nature is preserved and contributes to one person and *hypostasis*; not as if being split or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, Only-begotten, divine Word, Lord Jesus Christ, as from before the prophets taught concerning Him and as Christ Himself taught us, and as the creed of the Fathers has transmitted to us.

64 The famous Tome of Leo, *ACO* II.ii.1, no. 5; Greek version at *ACO* II.i.1, no. 11. Confession of Peter: Matthew 16.16.

65 This paragraph contains the actual Definition of Chalcedon whose purpose was to present a clear and acceptable statement about the being of Christ which would guarantee his role as the bringer of God's salvation to mankind.

66 Hebrews 4.15.

Accordingly, after these things had been defined by us with all precision and care, the holy and ecumenical Synod determined that it was impermissible for anyone to propound another faith, that is to compile or construct or think or teach otherwise. But that those who dared either to construct another faith, that is to promulgate one, or to teach or transmit another creed to those wishing to turn to knowledge of truth from paganism and from Judaism or from any other heresy whatsoever, these if they be bishops or clerics are to be ousted, bishops from the episcopacy and clerics from the clergy, while if they be monks or laymen, they are to be anathematized.

So after the formulation had been read out, the emperor Marcian also attended the Synod at the city of the Chalcedonians and, after making a public speech, he returned again.[67] And by certain agreements Juvenal and Maximus arranged the matters concerning the provinces under their control,[68] and Theodoret and Ibas were recalled,[69] and

67 Marcian attended the Council's sixth session, on 25 October, when the Definition of Chalcedon was formally promulgated; Marcian's speech is at *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 139:28–140:26.

68 For much of his career, Juvenal had succeeded in building up the power of the see of Jerusalem at the expense of its nearest patriarchal neighbour, Antioch (for the rivalry, Honigmann, 'Juvenal' 214–15); at the height of his prestige in 450, Juvenal managed to have the provinces of Arabia and First and Second Palestine transferred from the authority of Antioch to his own. This arrangement was reversed on 23 October in a deal agreed between the two bishops, but the case was then brought before the full Council on 26 October, when this decision was confirmed: *ACO* II.ii.2, pp. 17:33–21:23; II.i.3, pp. 5:8–7:5; and see Honigmann, 'Juvenal' 245–7.

69 Theodoret had already been recognized by Pope Leo as the rightful bishop of Cyrrhus in spite of his deposition at Second Ephesus and, on the first day of the Council, although the papal legates had not succeeded in having him installed among the bishops, he was admitted to the centre of the Council to share with Eusebius of Dorylaeum the prosecution of Dioscorus. This is not reported by Evagrius at the relevant point (pp. 43–4 with n. 42 above, though the longer account acknowledges that this had happened, pp. 71–2), since the rehabilitation of Theodoret was an aspect of the Council which neo-Chalcedonians were keen not to emphasize (especially after his condemnation at the Fifth Council in 553). Theodoret's complete readmission was quickly accomplished on 26 October since his case had virtually been prejudged (*ACO* II.i.3, pp. 9:3–11:18).

The affair of Ibas, another casualty of Second Ephesus, was more complex, since it involved reading into the record the Acts of the Councils at Beirut, which had condemned the bishop, and Tyre, which had acquitted him, so that proceedings spilled over onto the next day (*ACO* II.i.3, pp. 13:24–42:17); he was eventually reinstated, though Juvenal stated that Ibas was being admitted as a former heretic who recognized his errors (*ACO* II.i.3, p. 40:18–21).

other matters were raised, which, as I said before, have been recorded after this history.[70] And it was also decided that the throne of New Rome, though in second place to the elder Rome, should take precedence over the rest.[71]

5 After this Dioscorus was condemned to live in the city of the Paphlagonian Gangrans, while Proterius was appointed bishop by common vote of the synod of the Alexandrians. **[51]** When he had occupied his own throne, a very great and irresistible commotion arose among the people, who were whipped up over different opinions. For some missed Dioscorus, just as usually happens on such occasions, while others supported Proterius most vigorously, so that there were many pernicious consequences.[72] Thus Priscus the *rhetor* narrates that, at the time he came to Alexandria from the district of the Thebaid,[73] he saw the people

70 Episcopal disputes at Ephesus, in Bithynia, and at Perrha, occupied much of the next two sessions of the Council, 29–30 October: *ACO* II.i.3, pp. 42–83.

71 The highly contentious Canon 28 of Chalcedon, passed on 31 October, which introduced a millennium of rivalry between Rome and Constantinople, since the Pope objected to the pretensions of the New Rome (*ACO* II.i.3, pp. 88:13–99:22). In fact the Canon was no more than a restatement of the decision of the Council of Constantinople in 381, but this confirmation raised hackles: the papal legates protested that the Canon contravened the hierarchy established at the Council of Nicaea, which was true but disingenuous since Constantinople had not existed as a city in 325. See further Meyendorff, *Unity* 179–84; de Halleux, 'Canon'; Daley, 'Position'.

72 Gangra: modern Çankiri (about 130 km north of Ankara). Proterius had been left by Dioscorus to keep control of ecclesiastical affairs at Alexandria during his absence at the Council, and so was an obvious successor. Trouble was inevitable, however, since many still regarded Dioscorus as their rightful bishop, so that any replacement was unacceptable during his life, while Proterius, to gain the recognition of pope and emperor, had to subscribe to the decisions of Chalcedon. The reference to his election by 'the synod of the Alexandrians' is meant to suggest that he enjoyed considerable support. The choice of a new patriarch at Alexandria might be debated by a meeting of the province's bishops, as in 328 when 54 assembled to discuss the succession to Alexander, but decisions were more often taken by a small group or pre-empted by actions of the previous incumbent. Proterius was consecrated by the four Egyptian bishops who returned from Chalcedon in favour of the Council, and it is most unlikely that he received the support of an open meeting.

According to Zachariah (iii.2), Proterius was harsh and violent in punishing his opponents: see also Gregory, *Vox* 181–8. Rufus, *Plerophories* 66, 68–9 has various predictions (including two by Proterius himself) in which Dioscorus' successor as patriarch is represented as a wolf, heretic or the Antichrist.

73 The MSS reading here does not make sense, 'to Alexandria of the district of the Thebaid', and so most scholars (though not Bidez–Parmentier, introduction ix) follow the paraphrase of Nicephorus Callistus and insert ἐκ to signify that Priscus was coming from

going *en masse* against the officials; when a military force wished to prevent the riot, the people routed them using volleys of stones, besieged them when they took refuge in the former temple of Serapis, and delivered them alive to the flames;[74] when the emperor learned of these events, he dispatched 2,000 new recruits, and they chanced upon such a favourable wind that they arrived at the great city of the Alexandrians on the sixth day;[75] and thereafter, since the soldiers were drunkenly abusive towards both the wives and the daughters of the Alexandrians, the consequences were much worse than before; and later the people gathered in the hippodrome and begged Florus, who was commander of the military regiments as well as exercizing civil office, to restore to them the grain allowance of which he had deprived them, and the baths and the shows and everything which had been terminated because of the disorder caused by them; and so Florus, on Priscus' advice, appeared to the people, promised these things, and the riot ended quickly.[76]

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the Thebaid. This emendation has been questioned by Zuckerman, 'Huns' 178–9, because it would imply that Priscus was returning from his period of service in the province with Maximinus (who died in 453), which is too late for the riots described here. It is right to be cautious, since we do not know what Priscus actually wrote, but it is not impossible that Priscus visited Alexandria on various occasions during his time in the Thebaid; equally, Evagrius may have inaccurately paraphrased Priscus' account.

74 The temple of Serapis was destroyed under Theodosius I, *c.* 391; although much of it had been burnt or dismantled, the floor was too massive to be worth moving (Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* vi.11), and it would appear that enough of the ruined building survived to offer limited protection. Blockley, *Historians* II. 392 n. 127, wrongly doubted the possibility of the Serapeum being used in this way (partly because he misinterpreted Evagrius as referring to a temple of Isis).

75 Blockley, *Historians* II. 392 n. 123, dated the rioting to summer on the grounds that the favourable winds must have been the Etesians, but it is more likely that these events closely followed the appointment of Proterius in winter 451/2; the soldiers were doubly fortunate to have a rapid voyage during the months when only emergency journeys were undertaken.

76 The date of this subsequent demonstration is uncertain, but might be as late as 453. Florus' civil position was *praefectus Augustalis*, his military one *comes Aegypti*; the joint responsibility was a consequence of the continuing religious unrest in Alexandria, and/or of the renewed threat to the Thebaid of invasion by the Blemmyes and Nobades which followed the death of the commander there, Maximinus (Blockley, *Historians* II. 392 n. 126; *PLRE* II. 481–2 *s.v.* Florus 2; Gregory, *Vox* 184).

For grain distributions at Alexandria, see Gregory, *Vox* 186–7; Durliat, *Ville* 323–49. Theodore Lector 352 (Theophanes, 106:30–107:3) records that partisans of Dioscorus attempted to interfere with grain bound for Constantinople; to avoid this, Marcian arranged

But not even did the desert areas in the vicinity of Jerusalem maintain tranquillity, for some of the monks who had been present at the Synod but wished to hold different opinions from it, came to Palestine; and lamenting the betrayal of the faith, they were eager to **[52]** reignite and reawaken the monastic community.[77] And after Juvenal had occupied his own see, being under compulsion to reverse and anathematize his own views by those raving men, he took refuge in the emperor's city,[78] while those who, as we mentioned above, held different opinions from the Synod of Chalcedon, assembled in the Church of the Resurrection and elected Theodosius: he in particular threw the Synod at Chalcedon into confusion, and was also the first to bring a report of it to them.[79]

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for Egyptian grain to be shipped down the Nile to Pelusium, a switch which caused famine in Alexandria. For punishment of the populace by reduction of its grain allocation, cf. Socrates ii.13.5 (Constantinople in 342, after the death of a *magister equitum*), and by suspension of entertainments, cf. Cameron, *Factions* 226–9 (beast shows and pantomime dancers at Constantinople in 498 and 502, and other examples).

Priscus had been adviser to Maximinus, and may for a time have served Florus in the same capacity; at any rate he would have had to travel from the Thebaid to Alexandria to witness this demonstration, a fact which may be relevant to the textual problem discussed in n. 73 above. The quick end to the riot did not mean the end of opposition to Proterius; there are various stories of hostility in Rufus, *Plerophories*, e.g. 76–7.

77 Juvenal of Jerusalem, one of the leaders at Second Ephesus, had initially sat with Dioscorus at Chalcedon, but switched sides on the first day. Monophysite sources therefore regarded him with particular hatred as a traitor (e.g. Rufus, *Plerophories* 4, a vision of Juvenal being carried in triumph by Romans and demons; 16, the utter desolation of his former monastery; 17, an old man identifies him with the Antichrist); they alleged that he had anathematized the Tome of Leo before setting out for the Council and had stated that anyone who accepted it should be circumcised (an allusion to the propagandist perception of Nestorius' Jewish links): Zachariah iii.3; Frend, *Rise* 149 n. 3.

The monks were perhaps among the group of determined Monophysite archimandrites summoned before the Council on 20 October, when they were allowed until 15 November to reflect on their views; determined opponents of proceedings did not bother to wait until the end of the Council (cf. the case of Pamprepius, Bishop of Titopolis in Isauria: Rufus, *Plerophories* 22, p. 52).

78 Anti-Chalcedonian monks gathered to meet Juvenal at Caesarea in Palestine, but the governor prevented them from entering the city because they were so numerous. They did, however, have a meeting with Juvenal at which they forcefully rejected his account of proceedings at Chalcedon and threatened him with violence: Rufus, *Plerophories* 10, 25, 56; Zachariah iii.3.

79 The anti-Chalcedonians returned to Jerusalem before considering the question of a replacement for Juvenal (Zachariah iii.3). Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life* of Euthymius 27 (p. 41:19–26), also records Theodosius' seizure of control in Palestine, describing him as the

Concerning this man the monastic community in Palestine later reported in writing to Alcison that he had been convicted of misdemeanours by his own bishop and expelled from his monastery, and that when he came to the city of Alexander he attacked Dioscorus, and, after being lacerated by numerous blows as a trouble-maker, he was paraded around the city on a camel just as malefactors are.[80] To this man many of the cities in Palestine made approaches and arranged to have bishops appointed for themselves. Among these there was Peter the Iberian, who was entrusted with the episcopal rudders of the place called Maiuma, which is next to the city of the people of Gaza.[81] When Marcian discovered this, he first commanded that Theodosius be brought before him at court, and dispatched Juvenal for the rectification of what had happened,

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precursor of Antichrist; cf. also Theophanes 107:6–14. Rufus, *Plerophories* 25, naturally reports the appointment from the opposite angle. There is no evidence that Theodosius had done anything at Chalcedon to disrupt the Council (Zachariah iii.3 merely records that he left the Council after observing Juvenal's desertion of Dioscorus), and Evagrius may just have in mind the confusion caused by the actions in Palestine described below.

One of Theodosius' most influential adherents was the empress Eudocia, whose support for the Monophysites is recorded in Rufus, *Plerophories* 10 (she transmits to Constantinople evidence of a miraculous shower of stones that presaged the iniquities of Chalcedon), 11; also Theophanes 107:8–14.

80 Alcison, a leading opponent of Monophysites under Anastasius, was bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus; at iii.31, 33 Evagrius quotes from this letter, for whose preservation he is responsible.

Theodosius had probably visited Alexandria in 448, and caused disturbances there against Theodoret and Domnus of Antioch: Honigmann, 'Juvenal' 249. The assertion that he also opposed Dioscorus, whose Christological views he shared, and received a humiliating punishment, cannot be confirmed.

81 Theodosius acted quickly to take control of Palestine, anticipating the return of bishops from Chalcedon (Theophanes 107:13–14) and replacing them with men who were both loyal to Dioscorus and popular with their local communities. Peter, whose original name was Nabarnugius, belonged to the Georgian royal family and had come to Constantinople as a hostage, but fled to Palestine in 437 after meeting the aristocratic ascetic, Melania the Younger (Zachariah iii.4; other refs in *PLRE* II. 867, *s.v.* Petrus 13). Other bishops to be appointed were Theodotus at Joppa, and Timothy at an unknown city. Opponents were forcibly removed: Severianus, Bishop of Scythopolis, and Athanasius, deacon of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, were supposedly murdered (Theophanes 107:14–21). Cyril of Scythopolis alleged that the *lavra* of Euthymius was the only place where orthodoxy survived in the Palestinian desert during Theodosius' supremacy: *Life* of Euthymius 27, p. 42:6–9.

instructing that all who had been appointed by Theodosius should be ejected.[82]

Next, after the arrival of Juvenal, there were many unholy occurrences as those from one side or the other proceeded with whatever their rage suggested to them:[83] the envious and God-hating Devil thus wickedly devised and misinterpreted a change of a single letter, so that, whereas the utterance of one of these absolutely thereby introduces the other one, **[53]** by most people the difference is considered to be great and their meanings to be in outright antithetical opposition and to be exclusive of each other.[84] For he who confesses Christ in two natures

82 It probably took Marcian over a year to authorize the return of Juvenal with sufficient support to coerce the hostile population of the province. Before that both Marcian and Pulcheria had responded to appeals from the Palestinian rebels by explaining the orthodoxy of the Chalcedonian definition, while conceding that the novelty of the two natures formulation, which was not in the Creed of Nicaea, might cause concern; they also urged the reacceptance of Juvenal, and promised the correction of certain specific grievances concerning the Samaritans and the billetting of soldiers on monasteries (*ACO* II.i.3, pp. 124:25–129:22). In view of the strength of feeling in the province, the situation was delicate, and Marcian was prepared to present a conciliatory façade which contrasted his reluctance to coerce opponents with the violence employed by the anti-Chalcedonian monks (*ACO* II.i.3, p. 127.6–12). Another important consideration was the need to detach the empress Eudocia from the rebels, which was achieved through the diplomacy of Pope Leo and an appeal from her son-in-law, Valentinian III (Honigmann, 'Juvenal' 251–5).

83 Theophanes, 107:23–4, records that Theodosius held the see for twenty months. Juvenal eventually returned in summer 453, accompanied by *comes* Dorotheus, who was charged with the task of capturing Theodosius and removing his supporters from their bishoprics; Rufus, *Plerophories* 8, records a prediction of exile for the orthodox after Chalcedon, and e.g. 29 for its realization. Monastic leaders were imprisoned at Antioch, Bishop Theodosius was captured and taken to Constantinople, where he died in 457 (this was miraculously announced to Peter the Iberian: Rufus, *Plerophories* 54), and some monks were allegedly martyred when they persisted in rejecting Chalcedon: Zachariah iii.5–9; Honigmann, 'Juvenal' 256–7.

84 For the sentiment, cf. i.1 with i. nn. 12–13. This exposition of the essential identity between the Chalcedonian ('in two') and Monophysite ('from two') definitions of faith was fundamental to Evagrius' stance as a neo-Chalcedonian (Allen, *Evagrius* 104–5). For a logical and elegant demonstration of the fundamental convergence of views, see Anastasius of Antioch's dialogue with a Tritheist, Uthemann, 'Anastasius'.

Socrates (i.23.6) had complained that the disputants in the *homoousios* dispute were fighting each other in the dark, since neither side really understood the reasons for their disagreement. In 452 Marcian legislated to restrict discussion of the decisions of Chalcedon, with specific penalties for clergy, imperial employees and inhabitants of Constantinople (*Cod. Iust.* i.1.4). On the rise of negative attitudes towards public debate, see Lim, *Discussion* chs. 6–7.

openly declares Him to be from two, in that by confessing Christ jointly in Divinity and humanity he declares in confessing that He is composed from Divinity and humanity. And he who says He is from two introduces absolutely the confession that He is in two, in that by saying that Christ comes from Divinity and humanity he confesses that He exists in Divinity and humanity. Neither was the flesh transformed into Divinity, nor again did the Divinity proceed into flesh. From these came the ineffable union, so that through the expression 'from two' the expression 'in two' is thereupon fittingly understood, and through 'in two', 'from two', and neither is absent from the other. As a result, in accordance with its superabundance, not only is there recognized the whole from its parts but also the whole in its parts. And nevertheless men consider these things to be so distinct from one another, from some habit concerning their glorification of God or indeed from a prior decision to think thus, that they scorn every form of death rather than move to approval of the reality.[85] Hence the events I have described arose. So much for these things.

6 During these times a dearth of rainwater occurred in Phrygia and Galatia and Cappadocia and Cilicia, so that from shortage of necessities men partook even of more harmful nourishment; consequently plague too arose. They fell sick from the change of diet, and as their bodies became bloated from excess of inflammation they lost their sight, coughing supervened, and on the third day they departed life. And for the time being it was impossible to discover a remedy for the plague, but the universal saviour Providence granted relief from the famine for the survivors, by pouring down nourishment from the sky in the unproductive year, as for the Israelites (that was called manna), **[54]** while in the following year granting that crops be brought to fruition of their own accord. These things were allocated also to the province of Palestine and

85 Habit and prejudgement of the issues highlight two factors that made the Chalcedonian dispute intractable. For many Christians the attack on Dioscorus of Alexandria, coupled with the restoration of supporters of Nestorius, such as Theodoret and Ibas, branded the Council of Chalcedon as Nestorian, and no amount of explanation could shift this perception. Another related problem, noted in a letter from Pope Leo to the rebel monks in Palestine, was the language barrier (*ACO* II.iv, p. 159:3–8): concepts which it was hard for Leo to express in his own language, Latin, or which he may have simplified in the interests of clarity, could all too easily, through inexperience or malice, be altered significantly when translated into Greek.

many other, indeed innumerable places, since the afflictions were travelling around the earth.[86]

7 While these things were progressing in the East, in the elder Rome Aetius was removed from men in cowardly fashion; also Valentinian, the emperor of the western regions, and along with him Heraclius were killed by some of Aetius' bodyguards. A plot had been concocted against them by Maximus, who indeed girded on the realm, on the grounds that Valentinian had outraged the wife of Maximus by forcibly having intercourse with her.[87] This Maximus betrothed Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, under utmost constraint. But, rightfully regarding the act as an outrage and altogether outlandish, she chose to risk all on the die, as they say, both for the sufferings with regard to her husband and for the utter outrages with regard to her liberty: for a woman is formidable and inexorable in grief if, after clinging to her chastity, she should be deprived of this and especially by the man through whom she lost her husband. She sent to Libya and by providing very great gifts at once and promising also good hope for the future, she persuaded Geiseric to attack the dominion of the Romans unexpectedly, promising

86 Evagrius is our only source for these disasters. For the role of saviour Providence, cf. v.11, p. 207:28–30; v.18, p. 214:5–6. For thorough discussion of famine in antiquity, see P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World; responses to risk and crisis* (Cambridge, 1988), especially ch. 3: Eusebius *EH* ix.8 describes the coincidence of starvation and plague in Palestine in 312/13 (see Garnsey, 34–5).

87 In the West the death of Attila in 453 and the removal of the Hunnic threat occasioned major political power struggles. The patrician Aetius, the leading figure in the western empire for two decades, who had co-ordinated the resistance to Attila, attempted to consolidate his pre-eminence by the betrothal of his son Gaudentius to one of Valentinian III's daughters, probably Placidia. This prompted a jealous reaction by other western political figures, and Petronius Maximus, twice consul, twice city prefect, and twice praetorian prefect of Italy (*PLRE* II. 749–51, *s.v.* Maximus 22), conspired with Valentinian's *cubicularius*, Heraclius, who then persuaded the emperor that Aetius was plotting treason.

As a result, Valentinian and Heraclius personally murdered Aetius during an audience in the palace on 21 or 22 September 454. Maximus failed to secure Aetius' position of influence, and consequently he persuaded two former bodyguards of Aetius, Optila and Thraustila, to avenge their master's death; on 16 March 455 they killed Valentinian and Heraclius in the Campus Martius, and on 17 March Maximus had himself proclaimed emperor. The story of Valentinian's rape of Maximus' wife was probably an excuse to justify the latter's treacherous ambition, since Maximus had recently been on good terms with Valentinian (John of Antioch fr. 200, Theophanes 108:17–30, Marc. Com. *s.a.* 455). Maximus died on 31 May while attempting to flee the Vandal attack on Rome.

to betray everything to him. When this indeed had been done, Rome was captured.[88]

But Geiseric, being both unstable and fickle in manner as a barbarian, did not even preserve his pledge to this woman, but, after firing the city and ravaging everything, he took Eudoxia along with her two daughters and made his return journey. And he departed and left for Libya.[89] And he married Eudocia, the elder of Eudoxia's daughters, to his own son Huneric, while he subsequently dispatched the younger one, Placidia, together with her mother Eudoxia to Byzantium with imperial retinues, in order to placate Marcian. For both the burning of Rome and such a wanton outrage to the imperial women had induced him to anger.[90] Then, on Marcian's orders, Placidia was joined in marriage **[55]** to Olybrius, who had been betrothed to her; he happened to be a distinguished member of the senate, who had come to Constantinople from Rome at its capture.[91]

Then, after Maximus, Majorian was Roman emperor for two years; and when Majorian was assassinated by Ricimer, the general of the Romans, Avitus retained the rule for two years and eight months, and after him Severus for three years.[92]

88 Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius II, was a powerful means of legitimation for Maximus. Hydatius (160) refers to an evil rumour that Geiseric had been summoned by Eudoxia, and John of Antioch (fr. 201; cf. also 200) notes it as a variant tradition. Geiseric, however, scarcely needed an invitation, since the engagement of his son Huneric to Eudoxia's elder daughter Eudocia firmly tied him to the house of Valentinian, and this was disrupted by both the emperor's death and the betrothal of Eudocia to Maximus' son Palladius. Geiseric captured Rome on 2 June 455.

89 Pope Leo is alleged to have mitigated the violence of the Vandal sack: there were fourteen days of systematic looting, which included the wealth of the imperial palace and the treasures from the Temple at Jerusalem that Titus had brought to Rome, but no widespread killing or burning. Aetius' son, Gaudentius, is named among the captives (Hydatius 160).

90 Eudoxia and Placidia were sent to Constantinople in the early 460s during Leo's reign; Malalas 368:1–4 places the move in Marcian's reign, Theophanes 110:5–8 (from Theodore Lector, so independently of Malalas) in the year of Marcian's death. Blockley, *Historians* I. 66, has suggested that Marcian was credited with the release of the princesses to help justify his failure to campaign against the Vandals (cf. n. 9 above).

91 For Olybrius, see *PLRE* II. 796–8, *s.v.* Olybrius 6; he had been betrothed to Placidia, perhaps even married to her, in 454/5, but had fled to the East shortly before the Vandal attack.

92 There are problems with the text of this sentence, but correction is difficult since Evagrius' account of the western imperial succession is severely confused. Theophanes, independently, has similar errors (109:9–12; also Cedrenus 606:17–19); this points to an

8 While Severus was still Roman emperor, Marcian exchanged kingdoms by departing for the better fate; he directed the empire for only seven years, but left for all mankind a memorial that was truly imperial. Leo then reigned.[93] When the people of Alexandria learnt this they renewed their wrath against Proterius with greater anger and extreme heat. For the populace is an object easily ignited to rage and takes chance causes as kindling for commotions,[94] but most particularly of all the populace of Alexandria which preens itself for its great mass, which is especially obscure and heterogeneous, and exults in its surges with illogical boldness.[95] As a result, they indeed say that it is possible for anyone who wishes, by broaching some chance occurrence, to excite the city into popular unrest, and to lead and direct it wherever and against whomsoever he wishes; in most respects they are jocular, just as

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inaccurate source, probably Eustathius, and reflects eastern ignorance about developments in the West (see Allen, *Evagrius* 106).

Avitus (*PLRE* II. 196–8, *s.v.* Avitus 5) was proclaimed emperor in Gaul on 9 July 455 and reigned until his deposition by Majorian and Ricimer on 17 October 456. Though Majorian (*PLRE* II. 702–3) was proclaimed by the army on 1 April, there was strictly an interregnum until his installation on 28 December 457; Majorian reigned for almost four years until his deposition on 2 August 461, and execution by Ricimer five days later. His successor, Libius Severus (*PLRE* II. 1004–5, *s.v.* Severus 18), was proclaimed on 19 November 461 and reigned for four years until his death on 14 November 465.

93 After a reign of six years and five months, Marcian died on 27 January 457, when there was no western emperor (and some time before the accession of Severus in 461); Leo I was elevated on 7 February. According to Rufus, *Plerophories* 12, a 120-year old monk in the Thebaid had predicted a reign of a bit over six years for Marcian, who would be followed by a liar who would give peace to the churches, after which the Antichrist would come.

For the notion of exchanging kingdoms, cf. i.22 on the death of Theodosius II, and for an immortal memorial bequeathed by an emperor, v.22 (Tiberius); Marcian's memorial was presumably the Council of Chalcedon. For the Monophysite view of Marcian's reward, see Rufus, *Plerophories* 27, where an imperial guardsman has a vision of the emperor being tortured in Hell.

94 Cf. Theophylact viii.9.9: 'the multitude is uneducated and is frenzied by changes for the worse, being difficult to correct and utterly uninitiated in expediency' (of Constantinople) and Socrates iii.17.4 on the insolence of the Antiochenes.

95 The Alexandrians had a reputation for violence: Socrates vii.13.2; Ammianus xxii.11.4; Hadrian criticized their levity and love of money (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Firmus 8.1), Cassius Dio their propensity to revolution (li.17.1–2). Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii is an extended attack on the Alexandrians' character, though see Barry, 'Aristocrats' on the interpretation of the speech.

Herodotus narrates about Amasis.[96] This is the nature of that populace, but in other respects it is not such as one should in fact despise.

And so the people of Alexander's city, waiting for a moment when Dionysius, the leader of the military regiments, was detained in Upper Egypt, elected Timothy, surnamed Aelurus, to ascend to the eminence of the archbishopric.[97] **[56]** He had formerly practised the monastic life, but had subsequently been numbered among the elders of the Alexandrian church. And they went up to the Great Church, which is called that of Caesar, and ordained him their bishop, although Proterius was still alive and executing the duties of the priesthood. Eusebius, the prelate of Pelusium, was present at the ordination, and Peter the Iberian, prelate of the township of Maiuma, according to the narrative of these events by the composer of the life of Peter; he says that it was not the mob, but one of the soldiers who slaughtered Proterius.[98]

Although Dionysius reached the city with the greatest speed, hastened on by the untoward incidents and eager to quench the pyre of sedition which had arisen, some of the Alexandrians, at the instigation of Timothy, as was written to Leo, attacked and slaughtered Proterius by thrusting a sword through his entrails, after he had fled to the all-holy baptistery. They even hung him up by a rope and displayed him to everyone at the so-called Tetrapylon, jeering and shouting that the victim was Proterius. And after this they dragged the corpse around the whole city and consigned it to the flames, not even shrinking from tasting his entrails like wild beasts.[99] All these things are contained in the petition

96 Herodotus ii.173–4. Amasis was Pharoah for about 40 years in the mid-sixth century BC, and his long reign was regarded as a period of peace and prosperity.

97 Dionysius was *comes Aegypti*; see also *PLRE* II. 364, *s.v.* Dionysius 7. Timothy was ordained on 16 March 457; after Dioscorus' death in 454, the Monophysite party in Alexandria had been keen to appoint a successor, but were dissuaded by Marcian's opposition (Zachariah iii.11). On the new patriarch's doctrinal stance, see Blaudeau, 'Timothée'.

98 Timothy had been appointed an elder by Cyril. His ordination as patriarch is described in greater detail by Zachariah iv.1. A second Egyptian bishop was present, and Peter the Iberian was seized by the people to make up the canonical trio. This is also recorded in the *Life* of Peter by John Rufus (64–9); there was a *Life* of Peter by Zachariah, of which a Georgian version survives (though its account at this point is compressed): see Lang, 'Peter'. The massive Caesareum, or Temple of Augustus, was located close to the mid-point of the Great Harbour: Fraser, *Alexandria* 24.

99 Theophanes 111:2–3 records that six companions of Proterius were also killed. A more detailed version, from the Monophysite perspective, is preserved in Zachariah iv.1–2, and Rufus' *Life* of Peter pp. 64–8: according to this, Dionysius had Timothy arrested as

which the bishops throughout Egypt and the whole clergy of Alexander's city made to Leo who, as has been said, assumed the mastery of the Romans after Marcian;[100] this was composed in these terms:[101]

> To the pious, Christ-loving Leo, proclaimed by God, victorious, triumphant, and Augustus, a petition from all the bishops of your Egyptian **[57]** diocese and the clergy of your greatest and most holy Alexandrian Church.[102]
>
> Being furnished to human existence as a gift by the grace from above, naturally you do not cease from daily forethought after God for the community, Augustus, most pure of all emperors.

And further on:

> There existed undisturbed peace among the orthodox peoples both with us and at the city of the Alexandrians, except for Timothy, who excluded himself from the universal Church and faith and severed himself immediately after the holy Synod at Chalcedon, at which time he was indeed an elder, together with a mere four or five who at the time were bishops and a few monks; like him these were affected by the heretical false doctrine of Apollinarius and his followers.[103] Because of this they had then

soon as he returned from Upper Egypt, but had to release him since the violent rioting did not abate; Timothy then occupied the Great Church, while Proterius used the Quirinian church, their relative popularity being indicated in the number of baptisms each was asked to perform – innumerable for Timothy, only five for Proterius. The people drove Proterius from his church on Holy Thursday, 28 March 457, and slaughter ensued, but he was killed by one of the Romans, i.e. the Roman soldiers, who secretly slew him and deposited the body at the Tetrapylon. Thereafter the people dragged the corpse to the Hippodrome and burnt it. Zachariah aptly makes the comparison with the death of George, the Arian bishop, in 361. There are various predictions of the death of Proterius, the sodomite and murderer, in Rufus, *Plerophories*, e.g. 34, 66. Cf. Theodoret, *EH* iii.7.4 for the allegation that persecutors under Julian ate the liver of a Christian martyr.

100 Rufus' *Life* of Peter (p. 68) claims that Leo already favoured Timothy over Proterius before the latter's murder.

101 For the Latin text of the complete letter, see *ACO* II.v. no. 7.

102 Timothy certainly had the support of two Egyptian bishops, as well as numerous lower clergy, but the supporters of Proterius might choose to ignore these if they had been deposed by a local synod. The petition was presented by fourteen bishops and various lesser clergy (Bardy in Fliche & Martin, IV. 281 n. 3).

103 The accusation is, naturally, plausible but unfair. As the loyal successor of Dioscorus and a participant at Second Ephesus, Timothy might be accused of favouring

been canonically deposed by Proterius of sacred memory and a complete Egyptian Synod, and by banishment they properly experienced imperial punishment.

And further on:

After awaiting the migration from here to God of the former emperor Marcian of pure estate, as if a free agent, being shamelessly emboldened against him with blaspheming utterances, and without embarrassment anathematizing the holy and ecumenical Synod at Chalcedon, dragging along a popular mob of hired rabble, campaigning against the sacred canons and the ecclesiastical establishment and the common constitution and the laws, he intruded himself upon the holy Church of God which had a shepherd and teacher, the most holy Proterius who was at that time our father and archbishop, and who was accomplishing the accustomed rites and offering up prayers to our universal saviour Jesus Christ on behalf of **[58]** your pious reign and your Christ-loving palace.

And after a little:

And after scarcely a day had elapsed, when Proterius most beloved of God was as normal staying in the bishop's palace, Timothy took with him the two bishops who had been lawfully deposed, and clergy who had been similarly condemned to live in exile, as we have said, as if indeed to receive ordination from the two,[104] although no one whatsoever of the orthodox bishops in the Egyptian diocese was present, as is normal for such ordinations of the bishop of Alexandria;[105] he took possession, as he

Eutyches, and hence Apollinarius, who had argued that Christ, as perfect Deity, had not been identical (*homoousios*, of the same substance) to humanity since the union of divinity and humanity in Christ precluded the presence of a human soul. Timothy, however, anathematized Eutyches and acted against those who advocated similar views, since he held that the humanity of Christ was of the same substance as other human beings.

104 The translation follows Festugière (263 n. 73), who corrected δεξάμενος, the aorist participle (which makes little sense, since Timothy has not yet been ordained bishop), to δεξόμενος, the future denoting purpose.

105 The reference to two bishops is intended to increase the illegality of Timothy's appointment (cf. Theodore Lector 370). Only two Egyptian bishops could be found to participate, and the requisite trinity had to be made up by an outsider, Peter the Iberian: cf. n. 98 above.

> thought, of the sacerdotal seat, having blatantly dared adultery against the Church which had its own bridegroom, while the latter was celebrating the sacred offices in it and canonically occupying his own throne.[106]

And further on:

> It was possible for that blessed man to do nothing other than give ground to anger, according to Scripture,[107] and to occupy the holy baptistery, fleeing the assault of those who rushed against him for murder. In this place, especially, fear is engendered even in barbarians and all savage men, who do not indeed know of the holiness of the place and the grace which gushes up from there. Nevertheless, those who were eager to advance to accomplishment the original objective of Timothy, men who did not suffer him to be saved even in those unsullied shrines, neither respecting the holiness of the place nor the occasion (for it was the feast of the saving Easter),[108] nor shuddering at the priesthood itself which mediates between God and men, they killed the innocent and slew him cruelly, along with six others also. And after carrying round his corpse, which was wounded all over, and brutally **[59]** dragging it around practically every place in the city, and parading it without compunction, they pitilessly outraged the body which felt no blows by cutting it limb from limb, not even refraining from tasting like wild beasts the entrails of him whom they were recently considered to have as a mediator between God and men. After consigning the remnant of his body to the flames, they committed to the winds the ashes from it, surpassing the utmost savagery of beasts. Cause of all these things and wise architect of the evils was Timothy.

106 Festugière (263 n. 74) proposed correcting the genitive absolutes to accusatives in agreement with 'the bridegroom'; though grammatically correct, this need not be what Evagrius wrote.

107 Romans 12.19 is the scriptural passage, though there Paul speaks of leaving a place for divine retribution.

108 Exactly the same accusation is made, from the Monophysite angle, about the expulsion of Timothy in January 460 (Zachariah iv.9). Proterius was killed on Holy Thursday, 28 March.

To Zacharias, however, who narrates this business in detail, trusting in a letter of Timothy written to Leo,[109] it seems that although the majority of these things were done, they were at the responsibility of Proterius who had introduced very great disturbances to Alexandria, and that these things were not ventured by the mob, but by some of the soldiery.[110] And so, to impose punishment on them Stilas was sent out by the emperor Leo.[111]

9 Leo employed encyclical letters to enquire of the bishops throughout the Roman state, and of those distinguished in the monastic life, about the Synod at Chalcedon and the ordination of Timothy who is called Aelurus, sending around also copies of the petitions submitted to him both by the party of Proterius and by that of Timothy Aelurus. The Encyclicals were composed in these words:[112]

109 This letter is not mentioned in the extant epitome of Zachariah (iv.1–3: it should be distinguished from the letter at iv.6, *contra* Festugière 264 n. 76).

110 In Zachariah (iv.1–2) the people of Alexandria were responsible for driving Proterius from his church, and subsequently for burning his corpse, but the actual murder was effected by an unnamed Roman soldier, who was allegedly angered by Proterius' complaints that the soldiers had not killed enough of his opponents in return for the money he had given them. As Allen observes (*Evagrius* 108; though the emphasis at *ibid.* 9 is different), Evagrius clearly preferred the Chalcedonian account, even though he does not explicitly criticize Zachariah's version.

111 Stilas (*PLRE* II. 1032–3) was presumably Dionysius' successor as *comes Aegypti*; he was still in Alexandria in 460. Leo banished two senior officials for their part in the death of Proterius, the *praefectus Augustalis* Nicolaus and the *dux* Caesarius; the former also had his property confiscated, while the latter's tongue was cut out (Theodore Lector 372). For the evidence of Theophanes (111:16–18), see Mango and Scott, *Theophanes* 171–2 n. 1, who plausibly interpret it as a garbled version of Theodore (though their presentation of *PLRE*'s discussion of the sequence of *comites Aegypti* is confused: *PLRE* II. 364, *s.v.* Dionysius 7, perhaps a native of Caesarea, to account for the evidence of Theodore; 1032–3, *s.v.* Stilas, notes but does not accept Theophanes' evidence).

112 The emperor had initially contemplated convening another Ecumenical Council to discuss the decisions of Chalcedon and consequent troubles, but was dissuaded by Anatolius of Constantinople (who was concerned that the status of his see might be challenged); cf. Theodore Lector 371–2. Instead discussions were to be held locally, in provincial synods, to parallel the one which Anatolius is here directed to summon at Constantinople. A Latin version of this encyclical is preserved at *ACO* II.v, no. 6.

The combination of questions about Chalcedon and the violent events at Alexandria gave the bishops a strong indication of the response which Leo wanted (*pace* Grillmeier, *Christ* II.1 202–10, who sees Leo's behaviour as neutral, although he does accept that Anatolius manipulated the responses in his own interests).

Copy of the sacred letter of the most pious emperor Leo, sent to Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, and to the metropolitans throughout the entire universe and to other bishops.

The emperor Caesar Leo, pious, victorious, triumphant, greatest, eternally revered, Augustus, to Bishop Anatolius. **[60]**

It was a matter of prayer for my piety that all the orthodox most holy churches, and furthermore too the cities under the Roman state should enjoy the greatest serenity and that nothing should happen to disturb their order and tranquillity. But as to what occurred recently in the city of the Alexandrians, we are confident that your holiness already knows. But so that you may be more completely informed about everything, what reason there was for such commotion and confusion, we have sent to your holiness the copies of the petitions which the most pious bishops and clergy, who came to the royal city of Constantine from the aforementioned city and the Egyptian diocese, brought to my piety against Timothy, as well as the copies of the petitions which those who came from the city of the Alexandrians to our sacred court on behalf of Timothy handed over to our serenity. The purpose is so that your holiness can clearly learn what has been done concerning the said Timothy, whom the populace of the city of the Alexandrians, and the dignitaries, and the councillors, and the shipowners request for themselves as bishop,[113] and concerning the other matters which are contained in the text of the petitions, and, in addition to these, concerning the Synod at Chalcedon to which they by no means assent, as their appended petitions indicate. Accordingly, let your piety at once cause to convene to yourself all the orthodox, holy bishops at the present time residing in this royal city, and furthermore also the most pious clerics. And when everything has been carefully examined and investigated, since the city of Alexander, whose order and quiet is a very great concern to us, is now in confusion, declare your decision concerning the aforesaid Timothy and the **[61]**

113 As Festugière observes (265 n. 77), this list progresses socially from the *humiliores* through the *honestiores* to the men of political status and economic muscle.

Roman shipowners, *navicularii*, were organized into hereditary regional associations, whose members owned property that underpinned their maritime duties; the powerful Egyptian guild had the particular responsibility of organizing the transport of grain down the Nile to Alexandria, and then on to Constantinople: see Jones, *LRE* 827–9.

> Synod at Chalcedon,[114] without any fear of man, and free from favour or hostility, putting before your eyes only the fear of God the Almighty, since you know that concerning this matter you will give an account to the unsullied Divinity; hence, when we have been fully informed about all things through your letters, we may be able to give the appropriate decree.

This was his letter to Anatolius, and he wrote similarly to the other bishops also, and, as I have said, to the more distinguished of those who at that point of time were pursuing the life without possessions or property. Among these was Symeon, who first discovered the station on a column, whom indeed we mentioned in the earlier history; the Syrians Baradatus and Jacob were numbered among them.[115]

10 Accordingly the bishop of elder Rome, Leo, was the first to write on behalf of the Synod at Chalcedon and reject the appointment of Timothy as having occurred illegally. The emperor Leo transmitted this letter of Leo to Timothy the Alexandrian prelate, Diomedes the silentiary carrying out the imperial orders;[116] Timothy replied to it, censuring

114 This last section of the letter is paraphrased at Zachariah iv.5.

115 On Symeon, the leading Holy Man in First Syria, see i.13–14 above, with notes. Baradatus (Theodoret, *RH* 27) and Jacob of Cyrrhus (Theodoret, *RH* 21 – more famous than the Jacob in *RH* 25.2) were the other leading figures of Syrian monasticism, in Second Syria and Euphratesia respectively: see Honigmann, *Studies* 92–100. They were cited along with Symeon in the sixth century by the Patriarch Ephrem of Antioch (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, *cod.* 229 [248a], quoted by Festugière 266 n. 78). Symeon and Baradatus sent replies to both Basil of Antioch (see ii.10 for Symeon's letter) and to the Emperor Leo (*ACO* II.v, no. 21 for Baradatus' reply), while Jacob wrote only to the emperor.

116 Zachariah (iv.5) states that Pope Leo wrote two letters to the emperor, one dealing with Timothy, and the other upholding the position of Proterius' party; the latter included criticisms of the Constantinopolitan clergy, and defended the Chalcedonian formula. These can be identified with the Pope's two responses to the emperor included in his collected letters, though Zachariah has somewhat garbled their respective contents. *Ep.* 156, of 1 December 457 (*ACO* II.iv, no. 97), deplores the state of affairs at Alexandria and criticizes Anatolius and his clergy, but defers doctrinal exposition to a later letter; this was placed at the head of the collected reactions to the emperor's letter (*ACO* II.v, p. 24:29–30). *Ep.* 165, of 17 August 458 (*ACO* II.iv, no. 104), sometimes known as Leo's Second Tome, was devoted not to Timothy but to a much longer, more learned and polished defence of the Chalcedonian position; it was this second letter which was transmitted to Timothy for comment. Evagrius has conflated Leo's two letters (Schwartz, in *ACO* II.v, *praef.* p. XIII).

The silentiaries were 30 senior palace officials responsible for supervising some ceremonies within the palace and for arrangements at meetings of the imperial council. Diomedes: nothing else is known about him (*PLRE* II. 362, *s.v.* Diomedes 1).

the Synod at Chalcedon and the letter of Leo.[117] The transcripts of these are preserved in the so-called Encyclicals, but they have been passed over by me so as not to introduce bulk into the present work.[118] And while the bishops of the other cities stood by what had been formulated at Chalcedon and condemned by a unanimous vote the ordination of Timothy, Amphilochius of Side alone wrote a letter to the emperor clamouring against the ordination of Timothy but not accepting the Synod at Chalcedon. These matters indeed have been worked over by Zachariah the *rhetor*, who has also incorporated the said letter of Amphilochius in his compilation.[119] Symeon of holy estate also wrote **[62]** two letters about these events to the emperor Leo and to Basil, who was bishop of the city of Antiochus. Of these I have included in my composition the one to Basil as being succinct;[120] it runs something like this:

> To my master the most holy and most saintly God-loving archbishop Basil, the sinful and wretched Symeon sends greetings in the Lord.

117 Zachariah (iv.6) preserves most of the reply: in addition to flattering the emperor and protesting his own loyalty, Timothy anathematized both Apollinarius and Nestorius and proclaimed his adherence to the faith of Nicaea, which required no correction – but he also explicitly disagreed with the decisions of Chalcedon. See Blaudeau, 'Timothée' 125–7.

118 Emperor Leo issued a collection of documents relevant to the position of Timothy in the so-called *codex encyclius*, though, not surprisingly, it did not contain Timothy's response to Pope Leo's accusations, as Evagrius seems to imply; a sixth-century Latin translation of most of this collection survives (*Collectio Sangermanensis*, *ACO* II.v, pp. 11–98:2). There is a list of 65 addressees (62 metropolitans and three monks), and responses from a further two addressees survive in the *Coll. Sangermanensis* which presents 43 replies signed by about 280 bishops and monks. Photius states that 470 clerics subscribed (*Bibl. cod.* 229; vol. iv. 142, Henry), a number rounded up to 500 in the imperial collection (*ACO* II.v, p. 98). In view of its length and repetitiveness, Evagrius sensibly chose to omit this material, but cf. also ii.4, p. 44:11–17 with n. 40 above, for his desire not to overload the narrative.

119 The abbreviated Syriac version of Zachariah paraphrases, but does not preserve, the letter (iv.7); Allen, 'Zachariah' 476, was confident that Evagrius correctly reported Zachariah's contents, but this cannot be proved. The Latin translation of the *codex encyclius*, not surprisingly, omits this anti-Chalcedonian response; extracts are quoted by Michael the Syrian, ix.5, II. pp. 145–8. For Monophysites, Amphilochius' subscription to any part of Leo's letter was tantamount to acceptance of the Council: Rufus, *Plerophories* 85, records a vision of Epictetus, a Pamphylian archimandrite, who saw Amphilochius and Epiphanius of Perge immersed in mud up to their necks as punishment for their adherence to the Council.

120 This letter was not a direct response to the emperor, and so was excluded from the *codex encyclius*; Evagrius probably derived it from the patriarchal records at Antioch (Allen, *Evagrius* 110; though other aspects of this discussion of the monks' letters are confused).

> Now, master, it is timely to say: 'Blessed is God who did not set aside our prayer and his mercy from us sinners.'[121] For, after receiving your holiness' letters, I marvelled at the zeal and the piety of our emperor, most beloved of God, towards the holy Fathers and their firm faith, which he exhibited and exhibits; and this is not a gift from us, as the holy apostle also says,[122] but from God who granted him this goodwill through our prayers.

And after a little:

> Wherefore I too, wretched and worthless, the abortion of the monks, made known to his majesty my attitude concerning the faith of the 630 holy Fathers who were gathered at Chalcedon, standing by it and being fortified by what was made manifest by the Holy Spirit. For if the Saviour is present amidst two or three gathered in his name,[123] then how can the Holy Spirit not be present amidst so many and so great holy Fathers.[124]

And further on:

> Wherefore be strong and be courageous with the true piety, just as Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, was on behalf of the people.[125] Accept my request to address on my behalf all the devout clergy under your holiness, and the blessed and most faithful people.[126]

[63] 11 For these reasons Timothy was condemned to exile, and he too was ordered to inhabit the city of Gangra.[127] And so the Alexandrians

121 Psalms 65.20.

122 Ephesians 2.8–9.

123 Matthew 18.20.

124 None of the surviving records of the Council, though they are admittedly incomplete, lists anything like 630 signatories (cf. n. 32 above), but the point of any exaggeration is clear from Symeon's allusion to their impressive unanimity.

125 Joshua 1.6.

126 The subservient tone of the letter was probably intended to smooth over the tensions that existed between the extravagant and independent stylite and the leader of the established Church in the region.

127 Following the death of Patriarch Anatolius (see n. 129 below), the emperor made a further attempt to reach a compromise with Timothy, who, however, refused to accept the Tome of Leo; in early 460 he was arrested and, like Dioscorus (ii.5), relegated to Gangra in Paphlagonia. According to Zachariah (iv.9), he had to be dragged from the font in the

appointed another Timothy as bishop to succeed Proterius; some called him Basiliscus, others Salophacialus.[128] When Anatolius died, Gennadius inherited the throne of the imperial city, and after him Acacius, who was in charge of the hostel for orphans in the imperial city.[129]

12 In the second year of the reign of Leo, an extraordinary quivering and trembling of the earth occurred at the city of Antiochus; beforehand certain things had been done by its populace, who were whipped up to complete madness and surpassed the nature of any beast, as if to provide a prelude to such troubles. Now, it was at its most severe in the 506th year of the grant of the city's status,[130] at about the fourth hour of the night, when the month of Gorpiaeus, which Romans call September, was bringing in the fourteenth day, as the Lord's day drew on, in the eleventh year of the indiction cycle;[131] it is recorded to be the

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baptistery, and his arrest provoked considerable unrest and killings in Alexandria; on his journey north to the Black Sea he was honourably received at Beirut and other cities. Since he persisted in writing against the Council of Chalcedon, Timothy was transferred in 464 to Cherson, on the north shore of the Black Sea, and he remained there until recalled by the anti-Chalcedonian usurper Basiliscus in 475 (Zachariah iv.11–12).

128 Spring 460; the nickname *basilikos* denotes that he was the emperor's patriarch (Bardy in Fliche and Martin, IV. 284 n. 2); Salophacialus, 'White turban' or perhaps 'Wobble-cap' (Frend, *Rise* 163), might refer to his actual headwear or, according to his enemies, to the flexibility of his doctrinal position (Zachariah iv.10). Theodore Lector 379 (= Theophanes 128:8–11) describes him as an ascetic who was loved by everyone.

129 Anatolius died on 3 July 458. Gennadius had a reputation as a theologian, and his staunch Chalcedonian position is shown by the fact that he produced an encomium of Leo's Tome; he had also attacked the Twelve Chapters of Cyril, an indication of his adherence to Antiochene Christology. Gennadius died on 20 November 471, and in February 472 was succeeded by Acacius, who was less rigidly Chalcedonian.

130 I.e. the Era of Antioch, which was calculated from 1 October 49 BC, marking the grant of autonomy to the city by Julius Caesar; at some point in the late fifth century the start of the Era was changed to 1 September, to accord with the indiction year, but the earliest evidence for this is an inscription of 483 (Grumel, *Chronologie* 194).

The popular disturbances probably refer to rioting by the circus factions, which is not otherwise attested (though there are long accounts of comparable riots from later in the century: e.g. Malalas in *Exc. de Insid.* 35, pp. 166:29–167:20).

131 The date of this earthquake is a minor but complex problem. The obvious source for Evagrius' detailed chronological calculation is Malalas, to whom Evagrius refers (cf. ii.12 at n. 137 below), but all that survives of his date is 'at dawn, on Sunday 13th September, in the year 506 according to the Era of Antioch, during the consulship of Patricius' (Malalas 369:6–8). Because of confusions over the start of the local Era, the Antiochene date can be made to fit either 457 or 458, while the consulship of Patricius indicates 459; there is a long

sixth,[132] after 347 years had elapsed from that which occurred under Trajan: for that one occurred when the city was enjoying the 159th year of its autonomy,[133] whereas that under Leo in the 506th, as is expounded by diligent men. Now this quake overthrew almost all the buildings of the New City, which was very heavily populated and had no empty or totally neglected space, but rather had been exceptionally adorned by the liberality of emperors who competed with each other. Of the palace the first and second buildings were overthrown, but the others survived together with the adjacent bath which, **[64]** whereas previously unused, because of the disaster in fact bathed the city; this was necessary because of what befell the other baths. It also overthrew the colonnades in front of the palace and the nearby Tetrapylon, and in the Hippodrome the towers at the doors and some of the nearby colonnades.[134] In the old city collapse did not affect the colonnades or buildings at all, but small parts of the baths of Trajan, Severus and Hadrian were shaken and collapsed.[135] And it threw down parts of the so-called neighbourhood of Ostrakine, as well as the colonnades, and it cast down the Nymphaeum, as it was called.[136] The details about each of these are

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discussion by Downey, *Antioch* 476–81, 597–604; also Grumel, *Chronologie* 194; Festugière, *Antioche* 365–8. September of the eleventh indiction points to 457, but the other indications, especially Leo's second year and Sunday the 14th denote 458, which is to be preferred.

132 In Malalas (369:6) it is reckoned as the fourth.

133 Malalas (275:3–10) dated this earthquake to year 164 of the Era of Antioch, AD 115; the origin of Evagrius' error is unknown.

134 For discussion of the buildings destroyed, see Downey, *Antioch* 476–80. The New City was located on an island in the Orontes; it was dominated by a large imperial palace and adjacent Hippodrome, both of which were approached by colonnaded streets running north–south; the palace was divided into four quarters, like that of Diocletian at Split, and the first two buildings probably refer to the quarters adjacent to the main entrance; the Tetrapylon was located at the intersection between the colonnade approaching the palace and a major east–west street. Although the island was heavily built up, its population may not have been large, since the palace was not in use (to the extent that a Holy Man pitched his tent outside the entrance: Rufus, *Plerophories* 88).

135 The location of these baths is not known.

136 Evagrius is the only source to mention the Ostrakine quarter (also at vi.8), probably the Potters' area, and its location is unknown; Antioch's famous Nymphaeum, a shrine to the Nymphs which would have contained some water feature, was located near the intersection of the main colonnaded streets in the old city, but there were several such shrines in the city and Evagrius appears to be referring to one in the Ostrakine (Downey, *Antioch* 478).

carefully recorded by John the *rhetor*.[137] He then says that a thousand talents of gold were remitted to the city from the taxes by the emperor, while to the citizens the dues on what had been obliterated in the misfortune;[138] he also attended to the public buildings.

13 There were occurrences similar to this,[139] or even more terrible, in Constantinople, the beginning of the evil being in the seaward part of the city, which they call Bosporon.[140] The story is that at the hour for lighting lamps a certain wicked and vengeful demon in the likeness of a woman (or indeed a real woman, a paid worker, stung by a demon – for both versions are current) carried a lamp to the bazaar to buy some pickles, but when the lamp had been put down the woman slipped away. The fire caught hold of some hemp, it sent up a huge flame and burnt the building quicker than the telling. From there the adjacent buildings were easily obliterated, with the fire engulfing not only what was highly inflammable but even buildings of stone; since it continued until the fourth day and overcame all resistance, all the most central part of the city from the northern to the southern region was consumed, as much as five stades in length and fourteen stades in breadth.[141] As a result, nothing in between was left **[65]** of either public or private buildings, neither columns nor stone arches, but all hardened materials were burnt up as if they had been something highly combustible. In the northern region, where the city's dockyards are also situated, this misfortune occurred from the so-called Bosporon as far as the ancient temple of

137 No details of Malalas' account survive, apart from the date and a brief mention of imperial generosity (369:5–9).

138 Festugière, 270 n. 84 with 265 n. 77, translated πολιτευταί ('citizens') as 'decurions' (*curiales*, councillors), who would have been relieved of the municipal obligations attached to properties which had suffered damage. This is possible, but after natural disasters it was normal for emperors to grant general tax relief to the affected area as well as supply funds from public revenues.

139 The following chapter provides by far the most detailed account of this great fire (cf. also Cedrenus vol. I. 609:23–611:4; Zonaras xiv.1.14–19; and for a prediction, *Life* of Daniel 41); Evagrius' information must have originated in a good contemporary source, and Blockley plausibly included this chapter in his edition of Priscus as fr. [42].

The standard date is 2–6 September 465, but *Chron. Pasch.* 595:2–3 locates the fire in indiction 3 and states that 2 September was a Wednesday, factors which both point to 464.

140 The region at the mouth of the Golden Horn, near the Prosphorion harbour, named for its proximity to the Ox-crossing of the mythical Io.

141 An area of one km by almost three km. *Chron. Pasch.* 595:1–2 records that eight of the city regions were burnt.

Apollo, while in the south from the harbour of Julian as far as houses lying not far from the oratory of the Church named Concord, and in the midmost part of the city from the Forum with the appellation Constantine as far as the market called that of Taurus, a spectacle pitiful and most hateful to all.[142] For all the beauties which rose above the city, whether embellished to unrivalled magnificence, or answering to public or private needs, were instantly transformed into mountains and hills impossible to traverse or cross and filled with every kind of material, confounding the previous appearance. Hence not even the inhabitants were able to know what or where the place of the previous buildings happened to be.

14 At the same time, while a Scythian war was in progress against the eastern Romans, the lands of Thrace and the Hellespont were shaken, as well as Ionia and the islands called Cyclades, with the result that much of Cnidus and of the Cretan island was levelled.[143] And Priscus narrates that there were extraordinary rains in Constantinople and the province of Bithynia, since for three or four days water poured like a torrent from heaven; and that mountains were levelled into plains, that villages were inundated and destroyed, and that islands even appeared in the lake of Boane, not far distant from Nicomedia, from the multitude of rubbish that was accumulated in it. But these things occurred later.[144] **[66]**

142 On the northern side of the city the fire spread from the harbour area (Theophanes 112:19–24 mentions the Neorion dockyard) up to the Acropolis where the former temple of Apollo stood; on the south it stretched from the harbour of Julian (Theophanes mentions the nearby Church of S. Thomas) west to the Church of Concord, Homonoia, located in the ninth region (Janin, *Églises* 382); the Forum Tauri was a synonym for the Forum of Theodosius, which, like that of Constantine, was located on the Mese, Constantinople's main thoroughfare.

143 The date is uncertain. M. Henry, cited in Mango and Scott, *Theophanes* 150, n. 1 *ad. A.M.* 5934, speculates that the tremors should be dated to Theodosius II's reign and linked with the quake on Crete recorded by Malalas 359:15–18; this is possible, although there is no reason to doubt that the same area might have been struck by earthquakes a couple of decades apart. The Scythian war may refer to attacks by Attila's son, Dengizich, who was fighting the Romans in 467 and again in 469. Festugière (271 n. 88, following Stein) attributed the destruction in Thrace to these Huns and that in the Aegean area to Vandals who raided the eastern Mediterranean in 467; but there is no mention here of Vandals, and the language of shaking and levelling is more appropriate to an earthquake. The chapter continues with other natural disasters, which also suggests that the first part describes an earthquake.

144 Blockley, *Historians* II. 354–6 printed the whole of this chapter as Priscus fr. 48.2, though admitting (397) that, strictly, Evagrius' reference to Priscus only relates to the deluge; there is no other evidence to allow the deluge to be dated.

15 Through his daughter Ariadne Leo acquired as son-in-law Zeno, who had been called Aricmesius from the cradle but on marriage also obtained the nomenclature of one of the Isaurians who had risen to great fame and was called this. The beginning of the promotion of this Zeno and the reason why he was preferred to all others by Leo have been expounded by Eustathius the Syrian.[145]

16 As a result of an embassy from the western Romans, Anthemius was dispatched as emperor of Rome; Marcian, who had till recently been emperor, had betrothed his own daughter to him.[146] Basiliscus, the brother of Leo's wife Verina, was dispatched as general against Geiseric with armies that had been assembled on grounds of quality.[147] These events have been most accurately elaborated by Priscus the *rhetor*,[148] as well as how Leo got the better of Aspar by treachery, as if granting a reward for his own advancement, and slew the man who had bestowed on him his rule, as well as his sons Ardabur and Patricius; the latter he had previously made Caesar in order to acquire Aspar's support.[149]

145 The future emperor Zeno (*PLRE* II. 1200–2, *s.v.* Zenon 7) had come to imperial notice in 466 when he provided evidence to prove the treason of the general Ardabur, the son of Aspar who currently dominated the eastern empire. One reward was an imperial marriage, and he civilized his name by taking that of a fellow Isaurian who had become consul and patrician under Theodosius II (*PLRE* II. 1199–1200, *s.v.* Zenon 6); Zeno's original name had probably been Tarasicodissa. Leo patronized Zeno to offset the influence of Aspar, and his ability to recruit warlike Isaurians was the key factor that enabled Leo to challenge the Germanic control of much of the Roman army. Zeno was appointed *magister militum per Thracias* in 467/8, and then *per Orientem* in 469.

Cf. Evagrius i.19 for a reference to Eustathius of Epiphania.

146 Anthemius, western emperor 467–72, had married Marcian's daughter, Euphemia: *PLRE* II. 96–8, *s.v.* Anthemius 3.

147 In response to Vandal attacks on Greece and the Aegean islands in the 460s, Leo organized a massive campaign in which an eastern armada was to link up with western forces, while an army marched from Egypt towards Carthage. In spite of initial successes, the expedition was an expensive failure when Geiseric used fire ships to disrupt Basiliscus' fleet; the cost is variously recorded, the minimum total being a massive 63,000 pounds of gold plus 700,000 pounds of silver (Hendy, *Studies* 221–3). Basiliscus (*PLRE* II. 212–14, *s.v.* Basiliscus 2) was alleged to have been bribed by Geiseric, and was only saved from punishment by his sister's intervention.

148 Priscus is accepted as the source for the account in Procopius (*Wars* iii.6.1–2, 5–25).

149 The Alan Aspar (*PLRE* II. 164–9) had dominated the eastern court since the start of Marcian's reign, and both Marcian and Leo had served under his command, but the family was overthrown in 471, being killed inside the Great Palace at a meeting of the imperial council.

After the slaughter of Anthemius, who was in his fifth year as emperor of Rome, Olybrius was proclaimed emperor by Ricimer, and after him Glycerius was appointed emperor. Nepos expelled him after his fifth year and controlled the Roman realm, while he appointed Glycerius as bishop in Salona, a city in Dalmatia;[150] he was expelled by Orestes, and after him that man's son Romulus surnamed Augustulus, who was the last to be emperor of Rome, 1303 **[67]** years after the kingship of Romulus. After him Odoacer took Roman affairs in hand, rejecting for himself the imperial appellation but calling himself king.[151]

17 At this time Leo the emperor in Byzantium put aside imperial power, after steering this for seventeen years and having appointed as emperor

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Patricius (*PLRE* II. 842–3, *s.v.* Patricius 15) was appointed Caesar in 470, and married to Leo's daughter, Leontia, in 471; Candidus records that he was wounded but survived his injuries.

150 Anthemius was killed on 11 July 472, after a conflict with his son-in-law Ricimer. Olybrius, husband of Valentinian III's younger daughter, Placidia, had been sent from Constantinople in 472 to make peace between Ricimer and Anthemius, but instead was proclaimed emperor himself in April; he died on 2 November 472.

Glycerius (*PLRE* II. 514) in fact reigned for 15 months (March 473 to June 474): in Theophanes he is credited with five months (119:14–15; but eight in John of Antioch fr. 209), so that Evagrius may have mistaken months for years in his source; alternatively, the text may be corrupt. The MSS describe Glycerius as bishop of Romans at Salona, but, like Festugière (273 n. 95), I have accepted the suggestion of Valesius (cited with favour in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*) that 'Romans' should be advanced to qualify 'realm'. Cf. ii.7, p. 55:4–8, for confusion about the western succession.

Nepos (*PLRE* II. 777–8, *s.v.* Nepos 3) was sent by Leo in 474 to depose Glycerius, and was proclaimed emperor in June; he retired to Dalmatia in August 475.

151 Orestes (*PLRE* II. 811–12, *s.v.* Orestes 2) was commander of the Italian army, but rebelled against Nepos and proclaimed his son Romulus as emperor (*PLRE* II. 949–50, *s.v.* Romulus 4); Augustulus, 'little Augustus', referred to Romulus' youth. Orestes was killed on 28 August 476 by the Scirian Odoacer (*PLRE* II. 791–3), who commanded the tribal contingents in the western army; he had already been proclaimed *rex* ('king') by his troops on 23 August.

The calculation gives the date of 828 BC for the kingship of Romulus, i.e. considerably too early for the traditional date of Rome's foundation in 753 BC. For discussion of Byzantine views on the fall of the western empire, see Croke 'A.D. 476', especially at 117–18, who accepts the attribution of Evagrius' date to Eustathius. Evagrius credits Eustathius with a different computation, associated with the proclamation of Anastasius in 491 (iii.29 with n. 92 below); this records the years from Romulus as 1052, much lower than the figure here which has probably been miscopied by Evagrius or corrupted in transmission.

Leo, son of his own daughter Ariadne and Zeno, although he was an infant. After him his father Zeno donned the purple garb, since Verina, the wife of Leo, collaborated with her son-in-law. When the child died after a short time, Zeno remained alone in control of the sovereignty.[152] As to what was done by him or against him, and everything else that happened, what ensues will reveal, if the higher power assents.

End of the second book

18 The enactments at the Synod convened in Chalcedon are, as it were in epitome, as follows:[153]

Bishops Pascasinus and Lucensius and presbyter Boniface deputized for Leo, archbishop of the elder Rome; Anatolius who was prelate of the city of Constantine and Dioscorus Bishop of the Alexandrians' city, and in turn Maximus of Antioch and Juvenal of Jerusalem, and their attendant bishops; present with these were those who occupy the eminences of the exalted senate. To these Leo's deputies said that Dioscorus ought not to be seated with them, for this Leo had enjoined on them; or if this did not happen, they themselves would move outside

152 Leo I died on 18 January 474; his grandson, Leo II, who was born in 467, had already been proclaimed Caesar in October 473, but died in November 474. In the *Life* of Daniel the Stylite (67), the senate is credited with the initiative in Zeno's elevation.

153 The following epitome of the Chalcedonian *acta*, occupying 26 pages of the Greek text, is devoted mainly to the first six sessions of the Council, though the major events of the later sessions are briefly noted. The intention was to emphasize that Dioscorus was deposed justly (here Evagrius repeats three important conciliar texts already quoted in ii.4), and that the Chalcedonian doctrinal formula was in accord with Cyril of Alexandria's views and had, after much debate, received widespread and voluntary support.

Allen, 'Zachariah' 485 and *Evagrius* 113–18, claimed that Zachariah's *Ecclesiastical History* originally contained an analogous epitome of proceedings in an appendix. The only evidence for this is in the chapter headings to the Syriac epitome (ps.-Zachariah), where Book iii is accorded a thirteenth chapter which is not preserved in the text (see Hamilton and Brooks p. 40 n. 2). Brooks, however, correctly dismissed this entry as a duplicate for the heading to iii.1 (in CSCO 87, p. 101 n. 3). The epitome of Chalcedon at Michael the Syrian viii.10, II. pp. 37–69, in fact undermines Allen's argument (*Evagrius* 116): Michael's chapter begins with a section explicitly attributed to Zachariah (viii.10.1, pp. 37–8), but the remainder diverges from Zachariah's presentation (e.g. Dioscorus' letter to Secundinus, prominent in Zach. iii.1, is not mentioned); the next chapter (viii.11) provides a version of Rufus' *Plerophories*, after which Michael signals his return to Zachariah (viii.12, p. 88). Michael's summary makes the most of procedural wrangles at the Council to damage its collective authority, defends Dioscorus, and insists on the need to preserve the decisions of Nicaea without change.

the church. And when the senate enquired what were the charges against Dioscorus, they declared that Dioscorus ought to give an account of his own judgement, since he had taken up the guise of judge contrary to propriety, **[68]** without the injunction of the controller of the bishopric of Rome. After this had been said, and Dioscorus had been seated in the central place by a judgement of the senate, Eusebius, the bishop of Dorylaeum, requested that the petitions delivered by him to the sovereignty be read out, saying this, word for word: 'I have been wronged by Dioscorus, the faith has been wronged, Bishop Flavian was murdered and together with me was unjustly deposed by him; command that my petitions be read out.' When it had been resolved that this be done, the petition obtained a reading; it was expressed in the following phrases:[154]

> From Eusebius, the most lowly bishop of Dorylaeum, who is making the speech on behalf of himself, and of the orthodox faith, and of Flavian, the former bishop of Constantinople, who is with the saints.
>
> It is an objective of your might to take forethought for all subjects and to stretch a hand to all who are wronged, but especially to those who minister in the priesthood, and in this they serve the Divinity by whom the imperial power and rule over human affairs is granted to you. Accordingly, since the faith in Christ and we ourselves have suffered many outrages contrary to all due order from Dioscorus, the most devout bishop of the Alexandrian megalopolis, we are approaching your piety, asking to obtain justice.
>
> The facts of the matter are as follows: at the Synod which recently occurred at the Ephesians' metropolis – would indeed that it had never occurred, so that it did not fill the whole world with evils and confusion – the good Dioscorus, setting at nought consideration of justice and fear of God, being of the same doctrine and the same mind as the foolish-minded and heretical Eutyches, as he subsequently revealed himself, but being undetected by the multitude, using as an opportunity the accusation made by me against Eutyches, his fellow in doctrine, and the sentence brought against him by Bishop Flavian of holy estate, after assembling a

154 The opening proceedings in which Eusebius formally attacked Dioscorus (pp. 67:19–69:25) are repeated from pp. 42:3–44:11, with some differences of wording.

> multitude of unruly crowds and **[69]** furnishing strength for himself through money, he polluted the pious worship of the orthodox, as far as was in his power, and corroborated the false doctrine of Eutyches the monk, which had from before and from the beginning been repudiated by the holy Fathers. Accordingly, since his affronts against the faith in Christ and against us are not minor, we request and prostrate ourselves before your might to decree that the same most devout bishop Dioscorus should make a defence against our accusations against him: namely that when the records of what had been done by him against us are read out at the holy Synod, by means of these we can reveal that he is indeed alienated from the orthodox faith, that he strengthened a heresy which is filled with impiety, and that he unjustly deposed us and effected terrible things on us; this will be achieved once your sacred and adored instructions are sent to the holy and ecumenical Synod of the bishops, most beloved by God, to the effect that they should listen carefully to us and the aforesaid Dioscorus, and refer all the transactions to the cognizance of your piety, in accordance with the opinion of your immortal supremacy. And if we obtain this we shall send up incessant prayers on behalf of your eternal might, most sacred emperors.

Accordingly, by common petition of Dioscorus and Eusebius,[155] the transactions of the Second Synod at Ephesus were publicized by being read out; through these it was revealed that the letter of Leo was not read out, and that too although a proposition concerning this had been brought in once or twice. When Dioscorus was requested to state the reason for this, he asserted that he proposed this once or twice, and he requested that Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Thalassius of Caesarea, first city of Cappadocia, should provide elucidation concerning these matters, since they too held the presidency with him. And so Juvenal said that since an imperial communication took precedence he had proposed that the other should be demoted in the reading, but that subsequently **[70]** no one mentioned the letter, while Thalassius said that he had not prevented this from being read but that he had not possessed sufficient authority to enable him alone to decide that the reading proceed.[156]

155 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 67:20–6.
156 *ACO* II.i.1, pp. 82:27–85:5.

Accordingly, as the reading of the transactions proceeded, and when some of the bishops attacked certain passages as forgeries, Stephen, the prelate of the city of the Ephesians, was asked which of his notaries had participated at that time; he declared that Julian, who subsequently became bishop of Lebedus, and Crispinus had been notaries for him; but the notaries of Dioscorus had not permitted this to happen, but had even seized the notaries' fingers, so that they were in danger indeed of suffering most grievously. Then the same Stephen deposed that on one and the same day he subscribed to the removal of Flavian. To this Acacius, Bishop of Ariarathia, added that all had signed a blank parchment under compulsion and necessity, since they were surrounded by countless evils, and soldiers beset them with murderous weapons.[157]

Then again, when another statement had been read, Theodore, Bishop of Claudiopolis, said that no one had uttered these things.[158] As the reading was thus progressing, when a particular place contained the declaration of Eutyches, 'And those who say that the flesh of God and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ came down from heaven',[159] the record stated that Eusebius declared with regard to this that he had said the phrase 'from heaven', but had not added from where; and Diogenes, Bishop of Cyzicus, persisted, 'From where then, speak?', and they had not been permitted to enquire beyond this.[160]

Then the same transactions show that Basil, Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, said: 'I adore our one Lord **[71]** Jesus Christ, the Son of God the only Divine Word, who after the incarnation and the union was made

157 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 87:8–88:16. Dioscorus' defence against the charge of forgery was that each bishop had his own notaries; the notaries of the host bishop would be responsible for the official *acta*, but each participant could verify their accuracy. Theophanes 100:18–20 reports that Dioscorus did not permit other secretaries to attend; cf. the *acta* of the Council of Aquileia in 381, when Palladius objected that his opponents had provided the only *exceptores*, stenographers (*Gesta* 43, pp. 362–3). For the pressure to sign at Ephesus, cf. Theophanes 101:1–2.

158 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 89:22–23. Theodore objected to acclamations in favour of Dioscorus' position.

159 In the *acta* of the Council, Eutyches is in fact pronouncing an anathema on these people.

160 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 92:5–17. According to the *acta* Eusebius asserted that Eutyches had *avoided* (ἔφυγε: BEL 320 'discarded' translates this, rather than Evagrius' εἰρήκει) saying 'from heaven', so that the anathema was broader. Evagrius has misrepresented the point of Eusebius' objection, which was meant to highlight errors in the Eutychian Christology which Dioscorus had upheld.

known in two natures;' and at this the Egyptians cried out, 'Let nobody separate the indivisible, one must not say that the one Son is two', while the Easterners shouted, 'Anathema on the one who divides, anathema on the one who distinguishes!'[161] The same transactions say that when Eutyches was asked if he said that there were two natures in Christ, he said that he knew Christ as being from two natures before the union but after the union as one; that Basil said that, if he did not declare that the two natures were indivisible and inseparable after the union, he was declaring separation and confusion; if, however, he added 'incarnate and made human' and conceived the incarnation and being made human exactly like Cyril, he would say the same as them, for the Divinity from the Father was one thing, while the humanity from the mother was another.[162]

And so when they were asked for what reason they subscribed to the deposition of Flavian, the records reveal that the Easterners shouted: 'We all erred, we all ask forgiveness.'[163] Then again as the reading progressed it revealed that the bishops were asked for what reason they did not give permission to Eusebius when he wanted to enter. To this Dioscorus said that Elpidius[164] produced a memorandum which confirmed that the emperor Theodosius ordered that Eusebius should not receive admission. The transactions reveal that Juvenal also said the same. Thalassius, however, said that he did not have the authority. This was condemned by the officials since this was no defence when faith was at stake. To this the proceedings reveal that Dioscorus complained, declaring, 'How are the canons being preserved now that Theodoret is present?', and that the **[72]** senate pronounced that Theodoret was present as accuser. Dioscorus indicated that he was sitting in the position of bishop, and the senate again said that both Eusebius and Theodoret occupied the position of accusers, just as Dioscorus indeed was allocated the position of defendant.[165]

161 *ACO* II.i.1, pp. 92:30–93:6. Basil had expounded the formula 'in two natures' which became the key to the Chalcedonian definition (cf. ii.5 with n. 84 above), to which the Monophysite Egyptian bishops naturally objected; the eastern contingent, the bishops dependent on Antioch and their supporters, then turned the objection against the Monophysites.

162 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 93:27–39.

163 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 94:1–19.

164 One of the two secular officials in charge of proceedings at Second Ephesus, cf. i. n. 93 above.

165 *ACO* II.i.1, pp. 96:28–97:14.

Thus when all the transactions of the Second Synod at Ephesus had been read, and its specific sentence against Flavian and Eusebius was likewise read,[166] at the words, 'Then Bishop Hilary stated', the bishops of the East and those with them shouted: 'Anathema on Dioscorus. At the very moment that he deposed, at that very moment was he deposed. Holy Lord, You avenge him. Orthodox emperor, you avenge him. Many years for Leo. Many years for the patriarch.'[167] Then, when the next parts were also read out which reveal that all the assembled bishops consented to the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius,[168] the most illustrious officials proposed as follows, word for word:[169]

> Concerning the orthodox and universal faith we resolve that it is necessary to make a more precise investigation at the next opportunity, when the assembly is more complete. But as for Flavian of pious memory and Eusebius the most devout bishop, from examination of what was done and decided and from the very words of those who were leaders of the Council then, who stated that they were mistaken and had deposed those men invalidly, since they are revealed to have been unjustly deposed in that they committed no error concerning the faith, it seems to us to be just, in accordance with the pleasure of God, if it is upheld by our most sacred and pious master, that upon Dioscorus, the most devout bishop of Alexandria, and Juvenal, the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, **[73]** and Thalassius, the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Eusebius, the most devout bishop of Armenia, and Eustathius, the most devout bishop of Beirut, and Basil, the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, who had held authority and were leaders at the Synod then, the same penalty should be inflicted by the holy Synod: in accordance with the canons, these men should be estranged from the dignity of bishop, and all consequentials should be decided by the sacred eminence.

At this the Easterners cried out: 'This decision is just.' The bishops of Illyria roared out: 'We have all gone astray, we all request forgiveness.'

166 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 191:9–28.
167 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 191:30–6; Hilary said '*contradicitur*'.
168 *ACO* II.i.1, pp. 192:3–195:9.
169 *ACO* II.i.1, p. 195:10–24, already quoted by Evagrius at pp. 44.26–45:15.

And after the Easterners again cried out, 'This vote is just. Christ deposed the murderer, God avenged the martyrs',[170] the senators proposed that each of the assembled bishops should individually expound their personal faith, while recognizing that the most sacred emperor believed in accord with the exposition of the 318 Fathers at Nicaea and the 150, and the letters of the holy Fathers Gregory, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius, Ambrose as well as the two of Cyril which were made public at the First Synod at Ephesus;[171] for indeed it was on these grounds too that Leo, the most devout bishop of elder Rome, deposed Eutyches.[172]

Accordingly, after this assembly was indeed terminated thus, the most holy bishops were alone assembled for a second one;[173] and Eusebius, the bishop of Dorylaeum, presented depositions on behalf of himself and Flavian, in which he reproached Dioscorus for holding the same opinions as Eutyches and because he had deprived them of the priesthood.[174] He added that Dioscorus had indeed inserted in the records words which had not been uttered at the Synod which had been convened then, and that **[74]** he had arranged for them to subscribe to blank papers. And he requested that everything which had been transacted at the Second Synod at Ephesus be annulled by the vote of those assembled, and that they should have the priesthood, and that the foul doctrine of that man should be anathematized.[175] After this was read he

170 The Illyrian bishops pick up the recent chant of the Easterners (p. 71:19–20), though with a different purpose. It is noticeable that the Illyrian contingent, though from a diocese controlled by the Pope, are vociferous both in their demands for the reinstatement of Dioscorus and in their doubts about the doctrinal exposition in the Tome of Pope Leo. The Easterners, however, were content that the majority of bishops at Second Ephesus had now been exonerated and only the leaders at the Council punished; they were willing to allow all of these to be pardoned, except for Dioscorus, on whom they were determined to gain revenge.

171 Cyril's second and third letters to Nestorius were read at First Ephesus: cf. i.4 with n. 36 above. It is possible, however, that Cyril's subsequent letter to John of Antioch, which was read out at the second session of Chalcedon (see below ii.18 at n. 195), is meant instead of the third letter to Nestorius.

172 To reinforce the doctrinal message of his Tome, Leo had appended a *florilegium*, which contained extracts from Hilary, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Augustine and Cyril (*ACO* II.i.1, pp. 20:6–25:6).

173 In fact the third session, of 13 October; cf. n. 45 above.

174 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 8:35–9:32.

175 Presumably of Dioscorus, not Eutyches (Festugière's preference, p. 278); the latter had already been anathematized.

asked that his adversary should also be present.[176] When it had been proposed that this happen, Aetius, the archdeacon and *primicerius* of the notaries, stated that he had gone across to Dioscorus just as he had done to the others, but that he had said that he was not permitted by the men guarding him to appear. And it was proposed that Dioscorus should be sought outside the gathering.[177] And since he was not found, Anatolius, the bishop of Constantinople, proposed that he ought to be summoned and appear at the Synod.[178] And when this happened those who had been dispatched stated, after their reappearance, that he said: 'I am under guard. Let them say if they permit me to depart.' And those who had been sent said to him that they had been dispatched to him, not to the *magistriani*, and they recounted that he said: 'I am ready to appear at the holy and ecumenical Synod, but I am being prevented.' To this Himerius added that,[179] as they were departing from Dioscorus, the assistant to the master of the sacred offices met them, and that with him the bishops again went to Dioscorus, and that he had certain shorthand notes concerning this.[180] When these were read out they revealed that Dioscorus said as follows, word for word:

> After personal reflection and consideration of what is beneficial, I give this answer. Since the most magnificent officials who were conveners at the Synod before this one determined many things after much discussion about each one, but I am now summoned to a second Synod for the demolition of the aforementioned, I

176 Request for Dioscorus to attend: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 9:33–10:9.

177 Festugière (278, with n. 107) translated this as '. . . to seek him to escort him as far as the entrance to the assembly', the point being to obviate Dioscorus' excuse that he was a prisoner and afraid to go outside. However, the *acta* make clear that the bishops suspected that Dioscorus might be lurking somewhere in the complex of S. Euphemia: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 9:40–10:9.

In the secular establishment the first person (*primicerius*) on the list of shorthand writers or notaries was a man of considerable power and distinction (Jones, *LRE* 573–5); from Aetius' title it is clear that the religious hierarchy adopted this model.

178 First summons of Dioscorus: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 10:10–12:3. Like Nestorius at First Ephesus, and Eutyches at Constantinople in 448, Dioscorus decided that it was better to absent himself from a meeting at which he was likely to be condemned.

179 Himerius was a notary attached to the delegation of bishops to ensure that there was a precise record of important exchanges.

180 The *magistriani* ('master's men'), or *agentes in rebus*, were controlled by the *magister officiorum* ('master of the offices'), so that his assistant (*adiutor*: his name was Eleusinius) could give orders to the guards; Dioscorus' first excuse was revealed to be invalid.

> request that the most magnificent officials who earlier participated in the Synod **[75]** and the sacred senate should now too be present, so that the same matters may be tackled again.[181]

To this the transactions reveal that Acacius retorted as follows, word for word: 'The holy and great Synod did not thus order your holiness to be present so that what was done by the most magnificent officials and by the sacred senate might be demolished, but it dispatched us so that you might attend the senate and your holiness not be absent from it.' Dioscorus said to him, as the records state: 'You have said to me now that Eusebius has presented depositions. I again request that the matters against me should be assessed in the presence of the officials and the senate.'

Then, after other similar intervening matters,[182] there were again dispatched men with the duty of urging the said Dioscorus to be present at the proceedings.[183] And after this happened, those who had been sent returned and stated that they had his speech as notes, which revealed that he said:

> I have already made known to your piety that I am indeed detained by sickness, and I demand that both the most magnificent officials and the holy senate should now too be present for the judgement of the matters under investigation. But since the business of my sickness has intensified, it is for this reason that I have made this delay.

And the records reveal that Cecropius said to Dioscorus that he had not previously said anything about sickness; therefore he ought to do what was required by the canons. Dioscorus replied to him: 'I have said once and for all that the officials ought to be present.'

Then Rufinus, Bishop of Samosata, said to him that the proceedings were organized in accordance with the canons, and that when he appeared he would be able to go through in detail whatever he wanted.

181 Although Dioscorus was indulging in delaying tactics, there was some justification for this request since the senatorial officials subsequently pointed out that Dioscorus had been deposed without their, or the emperor's, knowledge (pp. 87:31–88:1).

182 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 12:4–29. Eusebius ensured that Dioscorus' excuses were recorded in the official *acta*, and a decision was taken to make a formal second summons, in spite of a request for a delay by Amphilocius of Side.

183 Second summons of Dioscorus: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 12:31–14:26.

[76] When Dioscorus enquired whether Juvenal and Thalassius and Eustathius were present, he replied that this was completely irrelevant. The transactions reveal that to this Dioscorus said that he entreated the Christ-loving emperor that there should be present both the officials and those who had sat with him in judgement. To this those who had been sent said that Eusebius was accusing him alone, and that he absolutely ought to appear. To this Dioscorus said that the others who had sat with him in judgement ought also to be present, for Eusebius did not have any personal business with him, except indeed for that on which all had given judgement. And when those who had been sent persisted again in this, Dioscorus said in reply: 'What I have said, I have said once and for all; and further than this I have nothing to say.'

With regard to this Eusebius, the bishop of Dorylaeum, explained that his business was with Dioscorus alone and with no one else, and he requested that Dioscorus should be summoned by a third summons.[184] And Aetius, joining in, informed them that just now certain persons who said they were clerics had set out with other Alexandrian laymen to present depositions against Dioscorus and that these were standing outside the gathering and making chants.[185] And after Theodore, who was a deacon in the holy church at Alexandria, had been the first to make a presentation, next Ischyrion too, who was similarly a deacon, and Athanasius, who was an elder and nephew of Cyril, and furthermore Sophronius, in which they made accusations against Dioscorus concerning blasphemies and concerning bodily injuries and violent seizure of property, there was a third summons which urged Dioscorus to attend.[186]

Accordingly those who had been appointed to this stated on their return that Dioscorus had said: 'I have sufficiently informed your piety,

184 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 14:27–37.

185 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 14:38–24:30. The common denominator behind most of the complaints was the campaign which Dioscorus conducted against the closest assistants of Cyril, some of them his relatives, many of whom had become very wealthy as a result of his long domination of Egyptian affairs (Theodore Lector 342 [= Theophanes 97:31–3] mentions the large house of Cyril's family). For a summary of the accusations, see Gregory, *Vox* 176–8.

186 Third summons of Dioscorus: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 25:6–27:16. Festugière (280 n. 109) translated 'blasphemies' (βλασφημιῶν) as 'calumnies', which would make this a non-religious accusation, but the Egyptians did actually accuse Dioscorus of sacrilegious remarks about the Trinity.

and to this I am unable to add anything; **[77]** for I am satisfied with this.' And when those who had been sent on this business again urged the said Dioscorus to come, he said in response: 'What I have said, I have said; to this I am unable to add anything. For I am satisfied with this.' And when those who had been sent on this business again urged Dioscorus to come, he said the same in reply. And since the said Dioscorus had again said the same, while those who had been sent on this business persisted in their urging, Bishop Pascanius said that, although he had now been summoned a third time, Dioscorus had not made an appearance as he was stricken by conscience, and he enquired what treatment he merited.[187] When the bishops responded to this that he had fallen foul of the canons, Proterius, Bishop of Smyrna, said, 'When the holy Flavian was murdered there was nothing done in response to that', and those deputizing for Leo, the bishop of elder Rome, declared as follows, word for word:[188]

> The affronts of Dioscorus, the former bishop of the megalopolis of the Alexandrians, against the order of the canons and the ecclesiastical disposition have become manifest from the investigations already made in the first session and from what has been done today. For this man, to leave aside most matters, acting on his own authority and contrary to the canons, accepted into communion Eutyches, his fellow in doctrine who had been canonically deposed by his very own bishop – by whom we mean our father among the saints, Archbishop Flavian – before he had attended the Synod in the Ephesian city with the bishops beloved of God. But to the latter the apostolic see accorded pardon for what had been done there by them that was not of their intention: these men indeed have to the present continued **[78]** subservient to the most holy archbishop Leo and the whole holy and ecumenical Synod, for which reason he also received them into his communion as fellows in faith. But this man has persisted even to the present to be arrogant over those matters for which he ought to lament and should have bowed his head to the ground. In addition to this he did not even concede that the letter of the most blessed Pope Leo be read out, the one written by him to Flavian,

187 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 27:17–28:20.

188 Proterius' interjection: *ACO* II.i.2, p. 28:1–4; declaration of Western representatives, *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 28:24–29:20 (already quoted by Evagrius, pp. 45:21–47:12).

who is remembered among the saints, even though he was frequently exhorted by those who had conveyed it that it be read out, and he had promised on oath to make the reading. Since this was not read, the most holy churches throughout the universe were filled with problems and harm. But nevertheless, although such affronts had been committed by him, we aimed to accord him some clemency for his former impious action, as in the case of the other bishops most beloved of God, even though they did not have similar authority to his in judgement. But since he outdistanced his former lawlessness with the subsequent one, and dared even to pronounce excommunication upon Leo, the most holy and saintly archbishop of great Rome, and since in addition to this, when depositions filled with illegalities were brought against him to the holy and great Synod and after being canonically summoned once and twice and thrice by the bishops beloved of God he did not attend – stabbed, no doubt, by his personal conscience – and since he received unlawfully those who had been legally deposed by various Synods, he himself brought the verdict upon himself, by having variously trampled the ecclesiastical decrees. Wherefore the most holy and blessed archbishop of the great and elder Rome, Leo, through us and the current Synod, along with the thrice-blessed and far-famed Peter the apostle, who is a rock and foundation of the universal Church and is the basis of the orthodox faith, **[79]** stripped him of episcopal rank and dissociated him from all priestly activity. Accordingly, this holy and great Synod passes a verdict in accordance with the canons upon the aforementioned Dioscorus.

When these matters had been ratified by Anatolius as well as Maximus and the other bishops, except for those who had been deposed together with Dioscorus by the senate, a memorandum concerning these matters was written to Marcian by the Synod,[189] and the deposition was sent to Dioscorus by the same Synod in these terms:[190]

189 The sentence pronounced by the Pope's representatives was first ratified verbally by the bishops, with Anatolius and Maximus in the lead (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 29:21–34:11), after which the bishops subscribed the written version (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 34:12–40:6); the bishops deposed at the first session were allowed to subscribe later. The memorandum to Marcian is not mentioned in the *acta*.

190 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 41:33–44:3.

> Recognize that you, on account of your disregard for the sacred canons and on account of your disobedience with regard to this holy and ecumenical Synod, for these reasons, in addition to the other misdemeanours in which you have been caught, and, since although summoned for a third time by this holy and great Synod in accordance with the sacred canons, you did not present yourself to make response to the matters brought against you, on the thirteenth day of this current month October, recognize that you have been deposed from your bishopric by the holy and ecumenical Synod and are divorced from every ecclesiastical order.

Next, after letters concerning these matters were sent as well to the bishops beloved of God of the most holy Church at Alexandria and a proclamation against Dioscorus had been made, the business of this gathering received its termination.[191]

And so whereas the business of the previous gathering was terminated in this way, thereafter they were again assembled and, in response to a request from the officials who wished to be instructed in the correct religion, they stated that it was unnecessary for anything further to be formulated, since the business against Eutyches had received its termination once and for all and had been ratified by the bishop of Rome, with which indeed everyone was in accord.[192] While all the bishops were shouting that everyone was saying the same and the officials proposed **[80]** that each patriarch should select one or two persons from his own diocese to come into the middle, so that the opinion of each one be made clear, Florentius, Bishop of Sardis, requested an adjournment so that they might proceed to the truth with reflection. And Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, said as follows:

> The faith is well stated by the 318 holy Fathers, and has been confirmed by the holy Fathers Athanasius, Cyril, Celestine, Hilary, Basil, Gregory, and now again by the most holy Leo. And we request that there be read out the words of the 318 holy Fathers and of the most saintly Leo.

191 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 44:4–35; the letter was addressed to the clergy of Alexandria.

192 The second session of the Council on 10 October. Marcian was determined to have a new definition of faith, whereas the bishops were inclined to resist; at First Ephesus the use of any definition other than that of Nicaea had been prohibited (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 77:37–79:7).

After these had been read, the whole Synod roared out as follows: 'This is the faith of the orthodox; it is thus that we all believe; Pope Leo believes thus; Cyril believes thus; Pope Leo has expounded thus.'[193] After another proposition had been introduced that the expositions of the 150 holy men should also receive a reading, these too were read out. To these the people in the Synod again shouted, saying: 'This is the faith of all; this is the faith of the orthodox; thus do we all believe.'[194]

After this the archdeacon Aetius said that he had in his hands the venerable Cyril's letter to Nestorius which all those gathered at Ephesus had ratified with their own signatures, and that he also had another letter written by the same Cyril to John of Antioch, which too had received confirmation, and he asked that these should receive a reading. After a proposal to this effect had been made, both were read out; of the former a part is as follows, in these terms:[195]

> Cyril to Nestorius, the most devout and most pious fellow minister. **[81]** Certain people, as I have learnt, are disparaging my reputation in front of your piety, and that frequently, in particular awaiting the occasions of gatherings of those in power, and perhaps too with the idea of pleasing your ear.

And further on:

> Now the holy and great Synod said that the Only-begotten Son, begotten naturally of God the Father, truly God from truly God, light from light, the one through whom the Father has made everything, descended, was made flesh, became human, suffered, rose on the third day, ascended into heaven. It is necessary that we too should follow these, both the words and the examples, considering what the fact that the divine Word was made flesh and became human signifies. For we do not say that the nature of the Word was transformed and became flesh, nor yet was converted

193 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 79:16–32. As Festugière notes (282 n. 115), Evagrius never himself uses the term 'Pope' for the bishop of Rome, and it only occurs in direct quotations of documents.

194 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 79:33–80:18.

195 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 80:19–35. The *acta* in fact only include the first six lines of Cyril's second letter to Nestorius: cf. i.4 with n. 36 above; also *ACO* I.i.2, pp. 13:8–35:29, for the reading of the letter at First Ephesus and its reception. Cyril's letter to John was that composed in 433, after their reconciliation: cf. i.6 with n. 43 above for its context, and a substantial extract, and below for another extract.

> into a complete human composed of soul and body. Rather we say that the Word, having in respect of *hypostasis* united with itself flesh that was animated by a rational soul, ineffably and incomprehensibly became man and was termed Son of Man, not through mere wish or favour nor yet as if by the adoption of a mere person; and that while the natures which have been brought together to the true union are different, from the two is one Christ and Son, not as if the difference of the natures had been annihilated on account of the union, but rather that the one Lord and Christ and Son had been perfected for us from Godhead and Manhood through the ineffable and unutterable convergence into union.

And after a little:

> Since on account of us and on account of our salvation, after uniting humanity to himself in repect of *hypostasis*, He came forth from a woman, in this way He is said to have been born in the flesh. For He was not born first as an ordinary man of the holy Virgin, and as such the Word then descended upon Him, **[82]** but through being united from the very womb He is said to have undergone a birth in the flesh, in that He took upon Himself the birth of His own flesh. Thus we say that He suffered and rose again, not in the sense that the Divine Word in respect of Its own nature suffered blows or piercing of nails or indeed any of the other wounds. For the divine is impassible because it is also incorporeal. But since His own body suffered what happened, He is on the other hand said to suffer these things on our behalf: for the impassible was in the suffering body.

The majority of the other letter has been recorded in the first Book, though there is in it the following declaration which John the bishop of Antioch wrote but which Cyril approved wholeheartedly:[196]

> We confess the holy Virgin as Mother of God, because the divine Word was made flesh through Her and became human, and from the very conception He united with Himself the temple

196 For the whole letter to John, see *ACO* I.i.4, no. 127; the extracts are from p. 17:15–25 and present part of the Formula of Reunion which had restored communion between Antioch and Alexandria. The second extract is also quoted at i.6, p. 12:4–10.

> which He derived from Her. As for the expressions relating to the Lord by the evangelists and apostles, we know that the divinely inspired men employ inclusive expressions as concerning a single person and disjunctive ones as concerning two natures, and that they transmit the expressions appropriate to God in respect to the Divinity of Christ and the humble ones in respect to His humanity.

To which he added:

> Having read these holy words of yours, we find that we too hold these opinions: one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. And so we have glorified God the saviour of all, rejoicing with each other because the churches with us and those with you hold a faith which is consistent with the divinely inspired Scriptures and the tradition of our holy Fathers.

When these were read out, those in the said Synod shouted out in these terms:[197] 'We all believe thus; Pope Leo **[83]** believes thus. Anathema on him who divides and him who confounds. This is the faith of Leo the archbishop, Leo believes thus, Leo and Anatolius believe thus, we all believe thus; just as Cyril we all believe thus. Eternal is the memory of Cyril; just as the letters of Cyril are, thus do we think, thus have we believed, thus do we believe. Archbishop Leo thinks thus, thus he believes, thus he has written.'

After a proposition had been introduced that the letter of Leo should also be read out, it was translated and received a reading; it is included in the transactions.[198] Then after the reading the bishops shouted out:[199] 'This is the faith of the Fathers, this is the faith of the apostles; we all believe thus, we orthodox believe thus. Anathema on him who does not believe thus. Peter has declared this through Leo, the apostles have taught thus; piously and truthfully has Leo taught, Cyril has taught thus, Leo and Cyril have taught similarly. Anathema on him who does not believe thus. This is the true faith, the orthodox think thus, this is the faith of the Fathers. Why were these not read out at Ephesus? Dioscorus hid these.'

197 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 81:7–13.

198 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 81:14–20; the full text of the letter is printed at *ACO* II.i.1, pp. 10:19–20:5.

199 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 81:23–31.

There is included in the said transactions that, when the part of Leo's letter was read out which contains:[200] 'And for the requital of the debt owed by our mortal nature, the divine nature was united with the suffering nature so that – this indeed is appropriate for our cure – the one and the same, being the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,[201] both could die with regard to one aspect and could not perish with regard to the other . . .', the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops were doubtful about such a statement.[202] But Aetius, archdeacon of the **[84]** most holy Church of Constantine, presented a statement of Cyril which contained the following:[203] 'Since then His own body has through the grace of God, as the apostle Paul says, tasted death on behalf of everyone,[204] He Himself is said to suffer the death on our behalf, not as if He came to experience of death at least as concerns His own nature – for to say or think this is lunacy – but because, as I have just said, His flesh tasted death.'

And again with regard to the passage of Leo's letter which contains:[205] 'For, in communion with the other, each form is active in respect to what its particular nature is, the Word accomplishing that which is of the Word, while the body achieves what is of the body. And of these the former shines forth in the miracles, while the latter is

200 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 81:32–82:11. The point of these exchanges is to demonstrate that agreement at Chalcedon was unanimous, and was reached after discussion and demonstration, not by coercion as Monophysite accounts asserted.

201 1 Timothy 2.5.

202 The objection was to Leo's overstatement of the differences between Christ's natures, which might permit Christ to experience death as a man but not as God. For the attitude of the Illyrian bishops, cf. n. 170 above; Palestine was to become a bastion of Chalcedon in the East, but at the moment its bishops would have been influenced by the equivocations of their leader, Juvenal of Jerusalem, who had travelled to the Council as a devout supporter of Dioscorus.

203 The crucial point was to establish that there was nothing in Leo's doctrinal exposition that was incompatible with the views of Cyril. Evagrius has deliberately quoted these passages of Leo's Tome, which Monophysites used to prove his Nestorianism, along with the contrary assertion in the *acta* of their compatibility with Cyril's writings. The problem for Chalcedonians was that the formulation of Cyril's doctrinal expositions changed in the course of his long life, and that there were differences between his earlier writings and his more conciliatory pronouncements after First Ephesus: defenders of Chalcedon urged that the later statements were authoritative, Monophysites the opposite.

204 Hebrews 2.9.

205 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 82:12–22.

subjected to the insults . . .',[206] when the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops expressed doubt, the same Aetius read a chapter of Cyril which contained the following: 'Whereas there are some of the expressions which are particularly appropriate to Divinity, thus again there are others which are appropriate to humanity, while others occupy a sort of middle rank and represent the Son of God as being God and man together in the same.'

And after this when the aforesaid bishops expressed doubts about another part of Leo's letter, which contained:[207] 'For if most certainly indeed in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one person of God and man, nevertheless the thing through which the insult is common in each is one thing, and that through which the glory is established in common is another thing. For from us He has the humanity which is inferior to the Father, but from the Father He has the Divinity in which He is equal with the Father . . .', Theodoret weighed matters up and said that the blessed Cyril too had said as follows, word for word: **[85]** 'And after becoming man and not laying aside his own nature, He remained what He was, and one thing dwelt in something different, namely the divine nature with men.'

After this, when the illustrious officials enquired whether anyone was still doubtful, they all said that they were no longer in doubt.[208] After this Atticus, Bishop of Nicopolis, requested that they have an adjournment of a few days so that what seemed right to God and the holy Fathers might be formulated with unruffled thought and untroubled consideration. He requested that they also take the letter of Cyril which was written to Nestorius, in which he exhorted him to agree to his Twelve Chapters, to which everyone agreed. And after the officials proposed that they should have an adjournment of five days to assemble with Anatolius, the prelate of Constantinople, all the bishops acclaimed, saying: 'We believe thus, we all believe thus; just as Leo, thus do we believe. None of us is doubtful; we have all subscribed.'[209]

With regard to this the following was proposed in these terms: 'It is not necessary for all of you to assemble; but since it is appropriate that

206 Leo's phrasing again appears to separate the divine and human elements in Christ's body.

207 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 82:23–33.

208 Request for adjournment: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 82:34–83:18.

209 I.e. to the expulsion of Dioscorus.

the doubtful should be assured, the most devout archbishop Anatolius should select from the subscribers those whom he esteems for instruction of the doubtful.' To this those in the Synod added as follows:[210] 'We beg concerning the Fathers: the Fathers in the Synod, those who share Leo's views in the Synod, the Fathers in the Synod; our voices to the emperor, our pleas to the orthodox one, our pleas to the Augusta. We have all done wrong, let there be forgiveness for all.' **[86]**

Those of the Church of Constantinople cried out: 'Few are shouting; the Synod does not speak.' After this the Easterners shouted out: 'The Egyptian into exile.' The Illyrians roared: 'We beg, mercy for all.' After this the Easterners: 'The Egyptian into exile.' And as the Illyrians were making similar requests, the clergy of Constantinople cried out: 'Dioscorus into exile, the Egyptian into exile, the heretic into exile; Christ deposed Dioscorus.' After this the Illyrians and their associate bishops again: 'We have all done wrong, forgive all. Dioscorus to the Synod, Dioscorus to the churches.' And after similar proceedings the business of this gathering was terminated.

At the subsequent gathering, when the senate proposed that the formulae which had already been presented shoud be read out, the secretary Constantine read out the following from a paper, word for word:[211]

> Concerning the orthodox and universal faith we resolve that a more precise investigation should be made at the next opportunity, after one day when the assembly is more complete. But as for Flavian of pious memory and Eusebius, the most devout bishop, from examination of what was done and decided and from the very words of some who were leaders of the Council then, who confess that they were mistaken and had deposed those men invalidly, since they are revealed to have been unjustly

210 This session ended in uproar with a plea for the restoration of deposed bishops; the point at issue was whether Dioscorus, to whose condemnation everyone present had just subscribed, should be reinstated along with the bishops deposed at the first session: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 83:19–84:6.

211 The fourth session on 17 October began with a brief recapitulation by the imperial commissioners of the main items from the first two sessions, namely the deposition of Dioscorus, which Evagrius quotes (*ACO* II.i.2, p. 92:17–30, with divergences noted by Bidez–Parmentier), the statement of the principles of Marcian's faith, and the decision to grant an adjournment of five days (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 92:31–93:16). Evagrius had already quoted the condemnation of Dioscorus and his colleagues in its context at the end of the first session (ii.4, pp. 44:26–45:15: *ACO* II.i.1, p. 195:10–24).

> deposed in that they committed no error concerning the faith, in accordance with the pleasure of God it seems to us to be just, if it is upheld by our most sacred and pious master, that with the same penalty Dioscorus, the most devout bishop of Alexandria, and Juvenal, the most devout bishop **[87]** of Jerusalem, and Thalassius, the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Eusebius, the most devout bishop of Ankara, and Eustathius, the most devout bishop of Beirut, and Basil, the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, who had held authority and were leaders at the Synod then, should in accordance with the canons be estranged from the dignity of bishop, and all consequentials should be decided by the sacred eminence.

Then after other things had been read, the assembled bishops, on being asked if the writings of Leo were in accord with the faith of the 318 holy Fathers who had assembled at Nicaea, and with that of the 150 at the imperial city, Anatolius, the prelate of Constantinople, and all those gathered together, replied that the letter of Leo was in accord with what the aforesaid holy Fathers said.[212] And they put their subscription to the said letter of Leo. After these things had proceeded in this way those in the Synod cried out:[213] 'We are all in agreement, we all consent, we all believe thus, we all think the same, we believe thus. The Fathers to the Synod, those who have subscribed to the Synod. Many years for the emperor, many years for the Augusta. The Fathers to the Synod, those of the same beliefs to the Synod. Many years for the emperor. Those of the same opinions to the Council. Many years for the emperor. The five have indeed subscribed to the faith. Just as Leo, thus do we think.'

And after a proposition had been introduced as follows, word for word: 'Concerning them we have referred to our most sacred and most pious master, and we await the reply of his piety. But your devotion will give an account to God, both concerning Dioscorus, who was deposed

212 The papal representatives had declared that the definition of faith resided in the decisions of Nicaea and Constantinople, supplemented by the two canonical letters of Cyril and the Tome of Leo; thereafter the imperial commissioners invited the bishops individually to declare that the Tome of Leo was in accord with the doctrine of Nicaea and Constantinople (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 93:20–94:2). The subscriptions are recorded at length (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 94:4–109:16).

213 Reinstatement of the five colleagues of Dioscorus: *ACO* II.i.2, p. 109:7–40; the fact that they had now subscribed to Leo's Tome was crucial.

by you without the knowledge of **[88]** the most sacred eminence and of us,[214] and concerning the said five on whose behalf you have made the appeal, and for all the transactions at the Synod', they acclaimed and said: 'God deposed Dioscorus. Dioscorus was justly deposed. Christ deposed Dioscorus.'

Then after this, when the response of Marcian had been brought which, as the proposition of the officials made clear, granted the business of those who had been deposed to the decision of the bishops, they requested, speaking as follows word for word: 'We entreat them to enter. Those of the same views to the Synod, those of the same opinions to the Synod, those who have subscribed to the letter of Leo to the Synod.' After discussion these were included in the number of the Synod.

And after this the petitions which had been presented by the bishops of the Egyptian diocese to the emperor Marcian were read out, which included among other matters:[215]

> We have the same opinions as the 318 at Nicaea expounded, and the blessed Athanasius, and Cyril who is among the saints, and we anathematize every heresy, those of Arius, and Eunomius, and Mani, and Nestorius, and those who say that the flesh of our Lord came from heaven and was not from the holy Mother of God and ever-Virgin Mary, in similarity with all of us except in sin.

All those in the Synod cried out saying: 'Why have they not anathematized the belief of Eutyches? Let them subscribe to the letter of Leo, anathematizing Eutyches and his beliefs. Let them agree with the letter of Leo. They wish to mock us and depart.'

To this the bishops from Egypt retorted that there were many bishops in Egypt and that they were unable **[89]** to take responsibility for the attitude of those left behind;[216] and they urged the Synod to wait for their

214 The commissioners had not been present at the third session, when Dioscorus was deposed (Theophanes, 106:6–8, wrongly asserts that Marcian and the senate were present at the deposition).

215 Petition from the Dioscoran bishops of Egypt: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 110:6–111:16. At the first session, Dioscorus had been deserted by four of his bishops, but thirteen loyalists, who had not attended the second and third sessions, now attempted to have their doctrinal views ratified by the Council. As the reaction of the assembled bishops makes clear, the Egyptians' inability to anathematize Eutyches and accept Leo's Tome made the petition unacceptable.

216 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 111:17–114:18. In a heated exchange, the Egyptian bishops were prepared to condemn Eutyches if his doctrine contravened their own, but it was impossible to accept the Tome of Leo without the approval of the patriarch of Alexandria; the danger of

archbishop, so that they might follow his decision as custom dictates. For, if they were to do anything before the appointment of their leader, those from the whole Egyptian diocese would attack them. After many pleas concerning this, even though those from the Synod were resisting quite strongly, it was proposed that the bishops from Egypt be allowed until such time as a bishop was appointed for them.

After this petitions were presented by certain monks,[217] of which the gist was that they should certainly not be compelled to subscribe to any papers until the Synod, which the emperor had ordained to be collected, should have convened and they knew what had been formulated.[218] When these had been read,[219] Diogenes, Bishop of Cyzicus, asserted that Barsuma, who was one of the assembly, had slain Flavian: for he had shouted: 'Slay', and he had received admission contrary to propriety, in that he was not a party to the requests. All the bishops cried out: 'Barsuma has obliterated all Syria, he has brought a thousand monks against us.' And after a proposition was introduced that those who had assembled should await the ratification by the Synod, the monks demanded that the documents which had been composed by them should be read out; a part of these was that Dioscorus and his fellow bishops should be present at the Synod. To this all the bishops cried out: 'Anathema on Dioscorus. Christ deposed Dioscorus. Cast them out.

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physical violence was as potent a factor as belief, and the imperial commissioners terminated the argument by granting a respite to the Egyptians, with the proviso that they remain in Chalcedon until a new patriarch was appointed.

217 The Egyptian bishops were followed into the Council by two groups of monks, of whom most were from Constantinople: Faustus led a party of archimandrites and other senior monastic figures, who supported their bishop, Anatolius, and the decisions of the Council; their opponents were led by Carosus and Dorotheus, with the Syrian Barsauma in attendance. Evagrius does not make clear the distinction between these groups, so that his account of the episode is confusing.

218 Proceedings began with a review of the members of the anti-Chalcedonian group, which called into question the credentials of some of its participants: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 114:20–115:36. Nevertheless, their petition was still presented: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 115:38–116:24. Their complaint was partly about the pressure which had been applied before the Council, when Anatolius had certainly been doing much exhorting (*ACO* II.i.2, p. 119:37–40), but they may also have been implying that the current gathering was no longer ecumenical, since Dioscorus was absent (Festugière 291 n. 128, following Valesius).

219 Uproar followed the reading of the first part of the anti-Chalcedonian petition: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 116:26–117:17. Barsauma had been the leader of a group of Syrian monks at Second Ephesus who had given strong support to Dioscorus.

Remove violation from the Synod, remove violence from the Synod. These words to the emperor.' The monks resisted this and roared: 'Remove violation from the monasteries.'[220]

When the same things were again bellowed out by the Synod, it was proposed that the remaining documents should be read out;[221] **[90]** these said that the deposition of Dioscorus had occurred improperly, and that it was essential for him to participate in the Synod since a question of faith was before them; but if this did not come about, they would shake out their garments away from the community of the assembled bishops. After this was said, Aetius the archdeacon read the canons concerning those who separate themselves off. And again, when the monks demurred at the enquiries of the most holy bishops, and then in response to a question from the archdeacon Aetius on behalf of the Council some anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches while others refused, it was proposed by the officials that the petitions of Faustus and the other monks should be read out, which exhorted the emperor that those monks who were opposed to correct doctrines should not be permitted to continue any further.[222] At this, a monk Dorotheus called Eutyches orthodox. In response, various doctrinal matters with regard to Eutyches were raised by the officials.[223]

And after this, when the fifth session was in progress, the officials proposed that what had been formulated concerning the faith should be made clear; and Asclepiades, a deacon of Constantinople, read out a definition which it was decided should not be incorporated in the transactions.[224] To this there were some dissenters but the majority were in

220 Evagrius has missed the point of this last chant, which was in fact uttered by Faustus and the most pious archimandrites (*ACO* II.i.2, p. 117:16–17): Faustus was in agreement with the bishops, and wanted the violence of the monks removed, not only from the Council but also from the monasteries.

221 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 117:23–118:15.

222 Evagrius has, again, slightly missed the point of the exchanges (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 118:16–120:8) by not making clear that Faustus was in favour of the Council: Carosus, Dorotheus and their supporters were prepared to condemn Nestorius, and, under severe pressure, Eutyches as well, but with the qualification, 'if he does not believe as the universal Church believes'; the petition of Faustus and the most pious archimandrites was intended to achieve the removal of such malcontents, and he had no trouble in condemning Eutyches.

223 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 120:9–121:5.

224 At the fifth session on 22 October, Anatolius of Constantinople, with the support of the bishops, attempted to have ratified a definition of faith that did not depart too far from Cyrillan terminology; this provoked objections from the imperial commissioners and the

agreement. And when there were contrary shouts, the officials stated that Dioscorus said that he deposed Flavian for this reason, that he said there were two natures, but the definition said he was from two natures. To this Anatolius said that Dioscorus had not been deposed on grounds of faith, but because he had imposed on Leo a ban on communion and had not attended although thrice summoned. And the officials demanded that the contents of Leo's letter be inserted in the definition; when the bishops objected to this and stated that there could not be another definition, as it was complete, these matters were referred to the emperor.[225] And he ordered that six of the eastern **[91]** bishops, and three from Pontus, and three from Asia, and three from Thrace, and three from Illyria, with Anatolius and those deputizing for Rome also present, should gather in the martyr shrine and make correctly a formulation about the faith, or rather that each should expound his own faith; if not they should recognize that the Synod would take place in the West. And on being requested to state if they followed Dioscorus in saying 'from two', or Leo 'two in Christ', they shouted that they believed Leo, but that those who contradicted were Eutychianists.[226] And when the officials stated that there should be an addition in accordance with Leo that two natures were, without change or division or confusion, united in Christ, the officials entered the martyr shrine of the holy Euphemia,[227] together with Anatolius and the deputies of Leo, and Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Thalassius of Caesarea in

papal legates, who demanded the inclusion of a reference to the Tome of Leo (*ACO* II.i.2, pp. 123:4–124:33). The legates bluntly stated that the Council should be moved to the West if this was not accepted, while the commissioners, more tactfully, suggested the creation of a drafting group and attempted to argue that some reference to two natures was essential to distinguish the definition from the views of Dioscorus; the last point prompted Anatolius' statement that Dioscorus had been deposed for reasons of conduct, not of doctrine.

225 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 124:32–125:8; the emperor accepted the compromise of his commissioners, but also repeated the legates' threat of a new Council in the West. The reluctance of the bishops at Chalcedon to produce a new definition of faith, recorded in the official *acta*, was exploited by the Council's opponents: Rufus, *Plerophories* 59, p. 117.

226 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 125:16–25: in their desire to ensure the inclusion of a mention of Leo's Tome, the commissioners reduced the issue to a stark choice between Leo and Dioscorus; the bishops could not avoid supporting Leo, and so the commissioners secured their wishes.

227 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 125:26–126:11: this incident is probably the origin of the story of Euphemia's miraculous intervention in the deliberations (Zonaras xiii.25, III. pp. 117:10–119:2).

Cappadocia, and others; after they had come out the definition containing this was read out: 'Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ' and the rest which is incorporated in the *History*.[228] And after everyone shouted out: 'This is the faith of the Fathers. The metropolitans have now subscribed to it. This is the faith of the apostles. We all align ourselves with this, we all think thus', the officials proposed: 'What has been formulated by the Fathers and is pleasing to all should be referred to the sacred eminence.'[229]

At the sixth session Marcian attended and addressed the bishops about concord; after the emperor's speech, the definition was read out by archdeacon Aetius of Constantinople, and all subscribed to the definition.[230] And the emperor asked if the definition had been read out with the approval of all, and all **[92]** cried out with acclamations.[231] And again, the emperor twice addressed them, and everyone acclaimed him.[232] And at the emperor's behest canons were established, and metropolitan rights were granted to Chalcedon. And the emperor ordered the bishops to stay for three or four days, and that each one should make proposals about whatever he wanted, while the officials were present, and that the suitable ones should come into effect. And the session was terminated.[233]

Another one was held, and other canons were established.[234]

228 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 126:12–130:11, already quoted by Evagrius at ii.4, pp. 47:18–50:19; Evagrius was prepared to repeat the documents concerning the condemnation of Dioscorus, but not the definition of Chalcedon, an interesting order of priorities.

229 *ACO* I.i.2, p. 130:12–17.

230 25 October. Imperial speech: *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 139:26–140:26; definition *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 140:31–141:15; subscriptions *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 141:17–155:4.

231 *ACO* II.i.2, p. 155:5–28.

232 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 155:29–156:29: the emperor gave thanks to God for the work of the Council, and then forbade the raising of further difficulties about the faith. Festugière (294 n. 133) took 'twice addressed' as indicating that Marcian spoke in both Greek and Latin, but this is unlikely, since the emperor did make five separate pronouncements at this meeting of the Council and Evagrius has noted them individually.

233 *ACO* II.i.2, pp. 156:30–33; 157:34–7; 158:1–5. The status of Chalcedon was elevated to honour the martyr Euphemia.

234 For the earliest arrangement of the *acta*, see n. 45 above: the canons and signatures of subscribing bishops were inserted at this point, though this did not require a separate session (Marcian attended the sixth session, and the dispute between Antioch and Jerusalem was resolved at the seventh). Transfer of the canons to the end of the *acta* helped lend extra authority to contentious decisions, such as that of the fourteenth session on the status of Constantinople.

And again, at another meeting Juvenal and Maximus came to an agreement and it was decided that the bishop of Antioch should control the two Phoenicias and Arabia, but that of Jerusalem the three Palestines. And after discussion by the officials and bishops this was confirmed.[235]

And at the ninth meeting the affair of Theodoret was dealt with, and he anathematized Nestorius saying: 'Anathema on Nestorius and on him who does not call the holy Virgin Mary Mother of God and who divides the one Only-begotten Son into two sons. I subscribe both to the definition of faith and to the letter of Leo.' And on a unanimous proposal he was restored to his own see.[236]

And at another meeting the affair of Ibas was dealt with, and there were read out the judgements on him which Photius, Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius, Bishop of Beirut, had passed; but the vote was put off until the next time.[237]

Now at the eleventh session, although the majority of bishops voted that he should be among the priests, some bishops opposed and said that his accusers were outside and asked that they be admitted. And the transactions relating to him were read out. When the officials proposed that the transactions at Ephesus relating to Ibas should be read out, **[93]** the bishops stated that all the transactions at Ephesus in the Second Synod were invalid except for the appointment of Maximus of Antioch. And concerning this they also requested the emperor to ordain that nothing at Ephesus subsequent to the First Synod, over which Cyril who is among the saints, the prelate of the Alexandrians, had presided, should be valid. And it was determined that Ibas should have his bishopric.

And at another occasion the affair of Basianus, Bishop of Ephesus,

235 For discussion of this provincial dispute, see n. 68 above; the settlement was ratified on 26 October (*ACO* II.i.3, pp. 6:34–7:5).

236 On 26 October. For the affair of Theodoret, see n. 69 above; the quotation is from *ACO* II.i.3, p. 9:27–30.

237 The affair of Ibas (cf. n. 69 above) was raised immediately after that of Theodoret, but was not concluded until the following day. Evagrius has slightly confused the order of events: the accusers were first admitted (*ACO* II.i.3, p. 17:24–8), after which were read the *acta* of Tyre, where Ibas was acquitted, and Beirut, where he was convicted (*ACO* II.i.3, pp. 19:6–34:27); the officials were then prevented from having the *acta* of Second Ephesus read (*ACO* II.i.3, p. 38:3–24), and Ibas was reinstated.

was investigated, and it was determined that he and Stephen be removed. And at another meeting this was voted on.[238]

And on the thirteenth session, there was an investigation into the affair of Eunomius, Bishop of Nicomedia, and Anastasius, Bishop of Nicaea, who were in dispute about their individual cities.[239]

And a fourteenth session was held, and the affair of Bishop Basianus was investigated.[240] And at the conclusion it was determined that the see of Constantinople should be ranked immediately after that of Rome.[241]

End of the 2nd book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius.

238 On 29 October. Bassianus had been appointed bishop of Euazes, in Sarmatia, by Memnon of Ephesus, but had never taken up the post; after the deaths of Memnon and his successor, Basil, Bassianus had secured the see of Ephesus, but had then been deposed by Flavian of Constantinople, who had installed Stephen; there were allegations of violence and other improper conduct on both sides. The decision was concluded on 30 October.

239 On 30 October. The bishop of Nicomedia was metropolitan of Bithynia, but Nicaea (also in Bithynia) had been elevated to metropolitan status by Valentinian and Valens; the Council confirmed the supremacy of Nicomedia, while Nicaea's status gave it precedence over the other cities of the province (*ACO* II.i.3, pp. 58:32–62:37).

240 On 31 October. The dispute concerned whether Sabinianus (not Bassianus; an error by Evagrius under the influence of the dispute at Ephesus) or Athanasius was the rightful bishop of Perrhe; the decision went in favour of Sabinianus, but matters were delegated to a Council to be convened by Maximus of Antioch: *ACO* II.i.3, pp. 64:31–83:26.

241 Canon 28 of Chalcedon, passed on 31 October; see n. 71 above.

[94] THESE ARE THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRD BOOK OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS *SCHOLASTICUS*

16. Concerning Calendion of Antioch, and that he was punished with banishment on account of his suspected friendship with Illus and Leontius, and that Peter the Fuller was united with Mongus and the bishop of Constantinople and that of Jerusalem.

17. Concerning what Peter wrote to Acacius when the latter accepted the Synod at Chalcedon.

18. That John of Alexandria persuaded Pope Felix to send a deposition to Acacius of Constantinople.

19. Concerning Cyril who led the monastery of the Sleepless, how he sent men to Felix in Rome to urge him to punish the outrages against the faith.

20. Concerning what Felix wrote to Zeno, and Zeno sent in return to Felix.

21. That Symeon a monk of the monastery of the Sleepless arrived in Rome, and accused the Romans' bishops who had been sent to Constantinople of communicating with heretics; and that they and those who communicated with Peter were deposed by the Romans.

22. Concerning what was set in motion at Alexandria and in diverse places because of the Synod at Chalcedon.

23. Concerning Fravita and Euphemius of Constantinople, and Athanasius and John of Alexandria, and Palladius and Flavian of Antioch, and certain others.

24. Concerning the murder of Armatus, a relative of Empress Verina.

25. Concerning the revolt of Theoderic the Scyth, and his death.

26. Concerning the revolt of Marcian and what happened to him.

27. Concerning the usurpation of Illus and Leontius.

28. Concerning Mamianus and his works.

[96] 29. Concerning the death of Zeno and the proclamation of Anastasius.

30. Concerning Emperor Anastasius and that on account of his wish not to introduce any innovation with regard to the ecclesiastical situation, even though the churches throughout the whole world were disrupted by innumerable disturbances, many of the bishops were expelled on this account.

31. Letter of the Palestinian monks to Alcison concerning Xenaias and other people.

31. Concerning the expulsion of Macedonius of Constantinople and Flavian of Antioch.

33. Concerning Severus, Bishop of Antioch.
34. Concerning the deposition which was sent to him by Cosmas and Severian.
35. Concerning the suppression of the Isaurian usurpers.
36. Concerning the Scenite barbarians, that they made a treaty with the Romans.
37. Concerning the siege of Amida and foundation of Dara.
38. Concerning the Long Wall.
39. Concerning the so-called Chrysargyron, that Anastasius made away with it.
40. Concerning what Zosimus narrated against Emperor Constantine because of the Chrysargyron.
41. Disagreement with Zosimus for his blasphemies of Constantine and Christians.
42. Concerning the gold tax.
43. Concerning the usurpation of Vitalian.
44. That when Anastasius wished to add 'Who was crucified for us' to the Trisaghion hymn, a riot and disturbance occurred among the people; being terrified, he feigned humility and soon changed the opinions of the people.
45. Concerning the death of Anastasius.

[97] CHAPTERS OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT

1. Concerning the reign of Zeno and his son.[1]
2. Concerning barbarian invasions in the East and West.
3. Concerning the usurpation of Basiliscus and Zeno's flight.
4. Concerning the Encyclicals and Counter-Encyclicals of Basiliscus.
5. Concerning the return of Timothy Aelurus and what was done to him.
6. Concerning the return of Zeno and Basiliscus' death.
7. Concerning bishops who, for the benefit of Acacius of Constantinople, revoked their own consent to events under Basiliscus.
8. Concerning Peter Mongus and the Henoticon of Zeno.

1 'Son' (υἱοῦ) is a copyists's mistake for 'life' (βίου), as in the first set of chapter headings to Book iii (the death of Zeno's son Leo II is noted at ii.17).

[99] BOOK III OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS OF EPIPHANIA, *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT

1 But Zeno, after assuming the imperial rule by himself upon the death of his son, as if reckoning that he would not be in complete control unless he also pursued all the available pleasures with complete licence, entrusted himself from the outset to the assaults of desires to such an extent that he did not restrain himself from anything that was improper and unlawful; rather, to such an extent was he conversant with these that for them to be

done in obscurity and secrecy he considered as subservient, but if in public and, as it were, on a vantage-point, as royal and fitting for an emperor alone, since his judgement was wrong and servile. For the emperor gains recognition not from matters in which he naturally controls others, but from those in which he first rules and controls himself, by refusing admission to himself to anything inappropriate, and being so uncontaminated by acts of indulgence that while alive he provides an image of the virtues for imitation, an education for his subjects. But he who makes himself accessible to the pleasures gradually and insensibly becomes a most shameful slave, an unransomed captive, constantly exchanging masters like useless slaves, since indeed innumerable pleasures are established as mistresses with no limit whatsoever to their succession and mutual replacement: **[100]** the current pleasure is always inconstant, and becomes an incitement and prelude to another, until a person either becomes truly master and exiles the rabble-dominion of the pleasures, a ruler thereafter rather than a subject of tyranny, or he reaches the world of Hades, a slave until the final turn of fate.[1]

2 And so from the beginning Zeno had led his life in such a dissolute manner,[2] but his subjects, those towards both the rising and the setting

1 The character sketch of an emperor or patriarch frequently provides Evagrius with a cue for general moralizing; cf. v.1 (Justin II) and vi.1 (Maurice). As an Isaurian, Zeno (474–91) was unpopular with both the Germanic military establishment and the educated secular elite which administered the empire, so that his reign was disrupted by revolts and less public tensions (e.g. Malchus, fr. 22) and his reputation was damned for posterity: see the discussion of sources in Laniado, 'Problems'. Isaurian unpopularity: Joshua the Stylite ch. 12, and see Brooks, 'Zenon'.

Evagrius' highly rhetorical attack on Zeno presents by far the longest assessment of the emperor's character, though Cedrenus (I. p. 615:11–17) and Zonaras (xiv.2.2–5) have brief hostile portraits. Malchus criticized Zeno's spendthrift generosity to his friends, which resulted in higher taxation and extraordinary demands by profiteering officials; however, he also admitted that he was less consistently cruel and irate than Leo, and that it was lack of experience and knowledge which placed him at the mercy of his avaricious advisers (frr. 7, 16). The source most favourably disposed towards Zeno is the *Life* of Daniel the Stylite: Daniel, who had links with numerous people at Zeno's court and supported the emperor's Christological position, predicted that he could face the divine throne of judgement with confidence because of his faith in God and his good deeds (ch. 91); *Pratum Spirituale* 175, refers to his generosity with alms. As a Monophysite Zachariah of Mitylene also presents Zeno positively.

2 The adjective ἐκδεδιῃτημένος is also applied to Evagrius' other imperial *bête noire*, Justin II (v.1, p. 195:20; cf. also v.9, p. 205:11–12; v.19, p. 214:32).

sun, were suffering terribly, since from one side the Scenite barbarians were ravaging everything, while Thrace was overrun by a horde of Huns, the Massagetae of old, who crossed the Danube without opposition, while in the barbarian manner Zeno himself removed the left-overs by force.[3]

3 When Basiliscus the brother of Verina revolted against him – for even his relatives were hostile to him, since everyone equally shunned his most shameful life – he completely failed to contemplate anything courageous: for wrongdoing is ignoble and despondent, and demonstrates its cowardice through its submission to the pleasures.[4] Instead he fled headlong, surrendering such a great realm to Basiliscus without a struggle.[5] And he underwent a siege in the land of the Isaurians which had brought him forth, having his wife Ariadne with him since she had subsequently fled from her mother, as well as anyone else who remained

3 Theophanes, 120:9–12, and Cedrenus, I. p. 615:10–13, contain similar notices of extensive incursions, whose destruction was complemented by Zeno's own actions; Allen, *Evagrius* 121, plausibly suggests Eustathius of Epiphania as the common source behind this tradition (not noted by Mango and Scott, *Theophanes* 187 n. 5). Malchus, fr. 5:1–2, also refers to disruption on all sides, with which Zeno, as an exceptionally unwarlike man, could not cope.

Nothing else is known about the Saracen (Scenite) incursions into Mesopotamia: discussion in Shahid, *Fifth Century* 114–15. The main threat to the Balkans was now posed not by Huns (Massagetae, a Herodotean term for the inhabitants of southern Russia, is a classicizing affectation), but by the Gothic warbands of the two Theoderics, on which see Heather, *Goths and Romans* ch. 8. Zeno's own contribution probably refers to the rapacity of some of his provincial governors (Malchus fr. 16), who pillaged those provinces which escaped the depredations of outsiders.

4 For the sentiment, cf. the description of Justin II's behaviour at v.9, p. 205:9–14.

5 Zeno fled on 9 January 475 (John of Antioch fr. 210), having already withdrawn from the palace to Chalcedon because of a dispute with the dowager empress Verina over a request from her which he had refused (Malalas 377:5–378:2); the *Life* of Daniel, 69, also refers to the danger of assassination.

Basiliscus, an important military commander under his brother-in-law Leo (*PLRE* II. 212–14, *s.v.* Basiliscus 2), undoubtedly had ambitions of his own, which, however, had been thwarted after the failure of the Vandal expedition in 468 ruined his reputation; the *Life* of Daniel, 68, refers to the unjust hatred of some of Zeno's alleged kinsmen, whom the Devil stirred up to disrupt the quiet and well-ordered state. Evagrius naturally places the worst possible interpretation on Zeno's conduct. In reality the Isaurians were a powerful, but unpopular, minority within Constantinople, whereas Basiliscus commanded troops in Thrace, Verina had contacts with some leading senators, and the prominent Isaurian Illus was induced to oppose his fellow-countryman.

well-disposed to him.[6] And so once Basiliscus had thus acquired the crown of the Roman realm and proclaimed his son Marcus as Caesar, he proceeded in the opposite direction to Zeno and those who had ruled previously.[7]

4 As a result of an embassy of some men from the city of the Alexandrians, he recalled Timothy from the banishment which he had experienced for eighteen years, while Acacius was presiding over the bishopric of Constantinople. Next indeed, **[101]** after reaching the emperor's city, Timothy persuaded Basiliscus to send encyclical letters to the priests everywhere, and to encompass with anathema what had been transacted at Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo;[8] the text of these says the following:[9]

6 Malalas (378:1–2) agrees that Ariadne escaped from Constantinople after her husband, whereas the *Life* of Daniel, 69, states that she accompanied Zeno to Chalcedon and then on to the east. Zeno was besieged in the fortress of Sbide (in the central Isaurian highlands, south of the Calycadnus river: see Ramsay, *Asia* 368) by the Isaurians Illus and his brother Trocundes.

7 Basiliscus calculated his reign from the date of Zeno's flight, 9 January 475. In the light of the sustained criticism of Zeno's actions, the statement that Basiliscus proceeded in the opposite direction might suggest approval for the new regime, but, as emerges in the next chapter, Evagrius is now thinking in purely doctrinal terms: Basiliscus reversed the Chalcedonian policy of Marcian and Leo. Allen, *Evagrius* 122, notes the remarkable mildness of Evagrius' treatment of the heretical usurper.

8 Zachariah (v.1) provides more details of the Alexandrian mission, which had originally set out to see Zeno; one of the Egyptian monks, Theopompus, was brother of Basiliscus' *magister officiorum*, Theoctistus. Timothy Aelurus had been in exile at Cherson on the Black Sea since 464 (cf. ii. n. 127 above), so that his return to Alexandria naturally took him through Constantinople. The Encyclical was supposedly drafted by Paul, one of the monastic delegation, who had been a rhetorician and sophist. See Blaudeau, 'Timothée' 113–16.

9 Zachariah (v.2) preserves the address to Timothy and most of the first two paragraphs. A long version is also included in the anti-Chalcedonian collection edited by Schwartz, 'Codex' no. 73 (pp. 49–51), with an address to all metropolitans (as implied by Evagrius p. 101:2–3); other variants are noted by Festugière 482–4. This version contained various references to the canons of Nicaea and the actions of Second Ephesus, and a rejection of new regulations introduced at Chalcedon: the intention was to return to the earlier episcopal hierarchy specified in the sixth canon of Nicaea (privileges for Rome and Alexandria; all other provinces to control their own ordinations). Schwartz, 'Codex' 134, suggested that the version in Evagrius was a hasty revision which attempted to make the Encyclical less obnoxious to Acacius of Constantinople; after this compromise failed, Basiliscus was forced to issue the Counter-Encyclical (iv.7). Grillmeier, *Christ* II.1 242–3, by contrast, suggested that the long version represented an interpolated text which Timothy proclaimed at Ephesus after departing Constantinople (see iii.5 with n. 17 below). Schwartz's hypothesis seems more plausible, but certainty is impossible.

Encyclical of Basiliscus

The emperor Caesar Basiliscus, pious, victor, triumphant, greatest, ever-venerable, Augustus, and Marcus the most illustrious Caesar, to Timothy, the most devout and most beloved of God, archbishop of the megalopolis of the Alexandrians.

Whatever laws on behalf of the correct and apostolic faith have been decreed by the most pious emperors before us, all those who continued to serve correctly the blessed, ageless and life-creating Trinity, these we desire never to be inactive, in that they have always been salutary for the entire universe; rather, we promulgate these laws as our very own. In that beyond all concern with human affairs we honour piety and devotion to our God and saviour Jesus Christ, who has created and glorified us; and in that we are in addition confident that the unifying bond of the flocks of Christ is our own salvation and that of all our subjects, a firm foundation and unshakeable defence of our empire, hence, with our thoughts appropriately bestirred by sacred devotion, and as first-fruits of our empire, offering to our God and saviour Jesus Christ the unity of the holy Church, we decree that the basis and confirmation of human prosperity, namely the creed of the 318 holy Fathers who in company with the Holy Spirit were assembled at Nicaea long ago, into which we and all the faithful before us were baptized, this alone governs and holds sway over the orthodox people in all the most holy churches of God, as **[102]** the only valid definition of the unerring faith, and being sufficient for on the one hand the universal destruction of every heresy and on the other the utmost unity of the holy churches of God. Clearly their proper force is also accorded to what was transacted in this imperial city by the 150 holy Fathers for the confirmation of the same divine creed against the blasphemers of the Holy Spirit; and, in addition also, all that was transacted in the metropolis of the Ephesians against the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently shared his views.[10]

10 The emphasis on the absolute sufficiency of the Nicene doctrine is in line with the initial position of the vast majority of bishops at Chalcedon, who argued in opposition to Pope Leo's wishes that no new formulation of faith was necessary or desirable, and also with the responses to Emperor Leo's encyclical, many of which had accepted Chalcedon as a reaffirmation of Nicaea rather than an Ecumenical Council in its own right: Grillmeier, *Christ* II.1 210–18.

But that which overthrew the unity and good order of the holy churches of God and the peace of the whole universe, namely the so-called Tome of Leo and all that was said and transacted at Chalcedon in definition of faith or in exposition of the creed, or of interpretation, or of instruction, or of discussion, for innovation contrary to the aforementioned holy creed of the 318 holy Fathers, we decree that these be anathematized both here and everywhere in every church by the most holy bishops in all places, and that they be committed to the flames by whomsoever they may be found, since our imperial predecessors, Constantine and Theodosius the younger, who are in pious and blessed estate, indeed made such dispositions concerning all heretical doctrines.[11] And we ordain that, being thus invalidated, these things be utterly ejected from the one and only catholic and apostolic orthodox Church, in that they displace the eternal and saving definitions of the 318 holy Fathers and those of the blessed Fathers who through the Holy Spirit deliberated at the city of the Ephesians; and that, in sum, it should be impossible for any of the priests or the laity ever to make any deviation from that most sacred ordinance of the holy creed; and that, along with all the **[103]** innovations that occurred at Chalcedon contrary to the sacred creed, there be anathematized also the heresy of those who do not confess that the only begotten Son of God was in truth made flesh and made man from the Holy Spirit and from the holy and ever-Virgin Mary Mother of God – men who, creating monstrosities, say that it was either 'from heaven' or 'in illusion and appearance' – and absolutely every heresy and any other innovation that has been made on any occasion whatsoever or in any manner or any place in the whole

The Encyclical's reference to what was transacted at Ephesus is vague enough to admit the legitimacy of Second as well as First Ephesus, and it was doubtless the intention of those who drafted the document to reinstate Second Ephesus (though without reinstating Eutyches); this point is clearer in the version of the Encyclical in Zachariah and Schwartz, which mentions the two Councils of Ephesus.

11 Socrates (i.9.30) quotes a law of Constantine that all works by Arius should be burnt, and Theodosius II had ordered the burning of all works by Nestorius (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.5.66); Eusebius (*Life* of Constantine iii.64, 66) refers to a Constantinian law on the burning of all heretical works.

world, in thought or word, for transgression of the sacred creed.[12]

And since it is appropriate for imperial forethought,[13] through anticipatory consideration, to lavish security on its subjects not just for the present time but also for the future, we decree that the most saintly bishops everywhere should append their signatures to this sacred encyclical letter of ours when it is presented: thus they will clearly demonstrate that they conform only to the sacred creed of the 318 holy Fathers, which the 150 holy Fathers confirmed, as was expressly approved also by those most saintly Fathers who subsequently assembled at the metropolis of the Ephesians, namely that as a definition of faith one must conform only to the holy creed of the 318 holy Fathers; and they will anathematize every obstacle for the orthodox populace that occurred at Chalcedon, and conclusively eject them from the Church as being a hindrance to the universal and our own well-being.

Following these sacred missives of ours, which we trust to have been pronounced in accordance with God, and which are concerned to bring about for the holy churches of God the unity desired by all, those who at any time attempt to promote or in short to name, whether in instruction or in discussion or in written work, at whatsoever time or in whatever manner or place, the **[104]** innovation which was made at Chalcedon in the faith, such men, because they are responsible for confusion and disorder among the holy churches of God and all our subjects, and are enemies to God and our own salvation, in accordance with those laws against such wickedness already ordained

12 Innovation against Nicaea is the root of all trouble: Nestorius had already been mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph, and Leo's Tome and the Chalcedonian *acta* are now specifically added. The reference to those who create monstrosities with regard to the Son of God is an allusion to Eutychian views, though Eutyches himself is not explicitly condemned (just as the supporters of Dioscorus at Chalcedon would not unequivocally anathematize Eutyches). There is no mention of the Alexandrian 'one nature' formulation, or indeed of the Chalcedonian 'two nature' alternative: Timothy wanted a universal condemnation of the Council as innovatory, without reminding recipients of the Encyclical about the precise doctrinal arguments of which they might be ignorant, like Alypius of Caesarea (*ACO* II.v, p. 76. 5–24).

13 For imperial responsibilities, cf. Justinian, *Novel* 69, preface, and further discussion in Maas, 'History'.

before our time by the emperor Theodosius,[14] who has passed into blessed and sacred estate, laws which are also appended to this our sacred Encyclical, we command if they be bishops or clergy that they be deposed, if monks or laymen that they be subjected to banishment and every kind of confiscation and the most extreme punishments. For thus the holy and consubstantial Trinity, creator and life-giver of all things which is at all times revered by our piety, and is worshipped even now by us through the destruction of the aforementioned tares and through the confirmation of the correct and apostolic doctrines of the holy creed, being gracious and kindly towards our souls and all our subjects, shall through all time share in our government and bring peace to mankind.

5 Now, as has been recorded by Zachariah the *rhetor*, Timothy, who had recently been brought back from banishment, as I said, concurred with these encyclical missives, and in addition Peter surnamed the Fuller, the prelate of the city of the Antiochenes, who also accompanied Timothy in the imperial city.[15] After this had happened, they also decreed that Paul should take on the metropolitan see of the Ephesians.[16] Now he

14 Various comparable laws are included in *Cod. Theod.* xvi.5 (*de haereticis*), though it is not possible to tie the Encyclical's general comment to a specific law.

15 Zachariah v.2. Peter the Fuller was one of the more turbulent priests of the late fifth century: originally one of the Sleepless Monks, the most prominent Chalcedonian community at Constantinople, he fell out with them and became a committed Monophysite; he was first consecrated patriarch of Antioch in 469, probably with Zeno's support, while the incumbent Martyrius was absent (Theodore Lector 390; Malalas 379:2–3); he was ejected after little more than a year, but briefly returned in 470/1 after the resignation of Martyrius, and was then reinstated in 475 with the support of Basiliscus; after Zeno's restoration he was again removed, but by 485 he was back in favour and held the patriarchate for a final three years. He was responsible for the addition 'Who was crucified for us' to the Trisaghion, 'Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us'; Calandion prefaced this with a specific address to 'Christ the King' (Theodore Lector 427), but this address was then removed by Peter so that the phrase acquired Christological significance by implying that Christ as God had suffered. In this form the Trisaghion became a Monophysite slogan. See Festugière 314 n. 23.

Peter's later career is mentioned by Evagrius at iii.10, 16 (see below with notes), but the circumstances of his first period of office are ignored; Allen, *Evagrius* 123, plausibly attributes this silence to Evagrius' reluctance to highlight this discreditable chapter in the history of the Antiochene Patriarchate.

16 On Paul of Ephesus, cf. iii.6.

also says that Anastasius, the prelate of Jerusalem after Juvenal, and a good many others subscribed to the Encyclical, so that those who repudiated the Tome of Leo and the Synod at Chalcedon amounted to about 500. And somewhere he also writes that a petition came to Basiliscus from the prelates of Asia who were assembled at Ephesus, of which part was composed in these words:[17] **[105]** 'To Basiliscus and Marcus, our most pious in all things and Christ-loving lords, perpetually victorious Augusti.' And further on: 'Throughout you have been shown, most exceptionally pious and Christ-loving emperors, to be the subject of attack, along with the faith which is detested and attacked in diverse ways.' And further on:

> A certain terrible expectation of judgement and jealous wrath of sacred fire, and the just action of your serenity will abruptly entwine the adversaries who attempt, with a certain arrogant blindness,[18] to shoot at the mighty God and at your empire which is strengthened by faith, and who in several ways do not spare our insignificance, but are always making false accusations and incorrectly alleging against us that we subscribed under some constraint and compulsion to your sacred and apostolic Encyclicals, to which we subscribed with every pleasure and enthusiasm.[19]

17 Zachariah (v.2) actually says there were about 700 subscribers; the petition from the Synod of bishops of Asia is at v.3. Evagrius, following the order of his source, Zachariah, has distorted the sequence of events. The Asian Synod, which was convened at the instigation of Timothy Aelurus, symbolized the rejection of Constantinople's claim to supremacy and recalled the Councils of 431 and 449, when Cyril and Dioscorus had presided; see Blaudeau, 'Timothée' 122. Timothy had left Constantinople for Alexandria after it became clear that Basiliscus was likely to revoke his Encyclical; the Asian petition was an attack on Acacius of Constantinople (though without naming him explicitly), whose influence was leading to Basiliscus' fresh thoughts, and a plea that there should be no change to the Encyclical. See further Festugière 308–9 n. 9.

18 Accepting the correction of Valesius, τινι μωρίᾳ ('a certain blindness') for the MSS nonsensical τιμωρίᾳ ('vengeance').

19 Acacius is the object of this attack. At Chalcedon the patriarch of Constantinople had been given the right to consecrate the metropolitan of Ephesus, and this consolidated the control of the diocese of Asia which successive Constantinopolitan patriarchs had been trying to obtain. Paul of Ephesus had been ordained in accordance with previous practice (iii.6 with n. 24 below); Acacius was presumably responsible for his ejection, perhaps suggesting to Leo or Zeno that the anti-Chalcedonian stance of the province was part of Paul's illegal machinations, but then also tried to turn Basiliscus against the bishops of Asia by alleging lack of enthusiasm for the new emperor's views.

And further on: 'Accordingly do not allow anything else to go forth that is contrary to your sacred Encyclicals, knowing, as we said, that the whole universe will be overturned again, and that the evils which came about through the Synod at Chalcedon will be found small, even though indeed they brought about those countless slaughters, and unjustly and unlawfully poured forth the blood of the orthodox.'[20]

And further on: 'We solemnly protest in the presence of our Saviour Jesus Christ: for our piety is unconstrained;[21] we request the just, canonical and ecclesiastical condemnation and deposition that has been brought upon them, and especially upon the man who has for many reasons been discovered to be an unsaintly bishop in the imperial city.'[22]

The same Zachariah also writes this, in these terms, that when the imperial encyclical letters had been issued, those **[106]** in the imperial city who were infected with the illusion of Eutyches and who were practising the monastic life, as if reckoning to have encountered some godsend in Timothy, and hoping to track down their particular position in the Encyclical, came to him in a hurry. And they retired and withdrew, as if convinced by Timothy that the Word of God is consubstantial with us in the flesh and is consubstantial with the Father in Godhead.[23]

In contrast to the previous two brief extracts, Allen, *Evagrius* 125, regarded this supposedly *verbatim* quotation as merely an abridgement of Zachariah, but not enough of the original letter survives in ps.-Zachariah to prove this assertion.

20 I.e. no Counter-Encyclical. This and the following paragraph are not preserved in ps.-Zachariah.

21 The sense of this interjection is obscure; BEL 345 omits the phrase 'for our piety', while Festugière (310, with discussion of possible textual changes in n. 13) keeps close to the literal meaning of the Greek, 'for our piety is free' (ἐλευθέραν). I would interpret this as a further assertion by the bishops that their pious decisions had been reached without interference or compulsion; this assertion was then specifically retracted in their recantation, quoted at iii.9 (esp. 108:29–9 'we have subscribed not in accordance with our intention but under constraint').

22 Another attack on Acacius, who would appear to have been formally deposed by the local Synod, although, again, he is not mentioned by name.

23 Zachariah v.4, returning to the time before Timothy's departure from Constantinople. As heir to Dioscorus' position, Timothy might appear a natural ally to the followers of Eutyches (cf. ii. n. 103 above, and Zachariah, *loc. cit.*, for an occasion when even the Alexandrians demanded that he utter a specific anathema against Eutyches), but he had in fact consistently distanced himself from the Eutychian position that Christ's flesh came from heaven and His divinity had entirely absorbed His human nature. Zachariah states that the Eutychian monks withdrew from Timothy, refusing communion with him, but that

6 The same man says that Timothy, after setting out from the imperial city, came to Ephesus and enthroned Paul as archbishop for the city of the Ephesians. He had already been ordained in accordance with the more ancient practice by the bishops of the diocese, but had been expelled from his see. He also restored to the city of the Ephesians the patriarchal right which the Synod at Chalcedon had removed from it, as I have narrated.[24] Leaving there, he came to the city of the Alexandrians, and continued in this manner to demand that those who came into his presence should anathematize the Synod at Chalcedon. Accordingly, as is narrated by the same Zachariah, many others from his party severed themselves from him, including Theodotus, who was one of those ordained at Joppa by Theodosius, who had been made bishop of Jerusalem by certain people when Juvenal hurried off to Byzantium.[25]

7 He also states that Acacius, the prelate of the city of Constantine, being deeply distressed at these events,[26] stirred up the monastic community

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other unspecified individuals attached themselves to him on seeing his rejection of the Eutychian doctrine; Evagrius has obscured the distinction.

24 A continuation of the same chapter in Zachariah (v.4). The 'more ancient practice' of ordination by local bishops refers to the situation up to the end of the fourth century. Ephesus was not a patriarchal see, but had possessed the patriarchal right to consecrate the metropolitan bishops within its region; in 402, however, in a highly controversial move, John Chrysostom had attempted to assert the disciplinary authority of Constantinople over the neighbouring dioceses by deposing various heretical bishops and consecrating replacements, including one at Ephesus. This created a point of tension between Ephesus and Constantinople, which explains why Ephesus was a good place to hold anti-Constantinopolitan Councils in 431 and 449.

Canon 28 of Chalcedon had confirmed the superior position of Constantinople, including this right of consecration (the latter is not, in fact, mentioned by Evagrius in his accounts of the Council in Book ii).

25 For Theodosius and his ordinations in Palestine, cf. ii.5, with nn. 79–81 above. Evagrius has misrepresented the numbers and motives of Timothy's opponents. There was extravagant rejoicing in Alexandria at Timothy's return, with his supporters chanting 'You have feasted on your enemies, father' (Theodore Lector 409). Zachariah v.4 presents Timothy as a mild and forgiving man, who was happy to welcome everyone back into communion provided that they anathematized the Tome of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon, but his tolerance angered some hard-liners, who wanted stricter controls on the penitents, and these withdrew from communion; the majority welcomed Timothy's kindness and generosity.

26 Zachariah v.5 is more specific: Acacius was troubled by the reinstatement of Paul at Ephesus, Timothy at Alexandria and Peter at Antioch, and by the threat that a Council

and the people of the imperial city on the grounds that Basiliscus was heretical;[27] and that the latter in turn repudiated the Encyclicals, composed an ordinance to the effect that what had been done in haste was completely void, and sent out Counter-Encyclicals which commended the Synod at Chalcedon.[28] And he has passed over these, which he terms Counter-Encyclicals, since he composed his whole work from a biased standpoint, but they were as follows, in these words: **[107]**

Counter-Encyclicals of Basiliscus

> The emperors, Caesars, Basiliscus and Marcus. The apostolic and orthodox faith which prevailed in the universal churches from aforetime and from the beginning, which both prevailed up to our reign and prevails under our reign and ought to prevail unto eternity, in which we were baptized and trust, we decree that it alone prevails, as it does indeed prevail, unwounded and unshaken and that it eternally should hold authority in all the universal and apostolic churches of the orthodox, and that nothing else be sought. For, on this account, we also enjoin that whatever has

against him would be convened at Jerusalem. Acacius was not an ardent supporter of Chalcedon doctrinally (Theodore Lector 406), and he had little or no theological objection to Basiliscus' Encyclical; his main concerns were for the status of his see, which had been guaranteed at Chalcedon, and his own position since the influential Theopompus (for whom see n. 8 above) had been mentioned as a replacement.

27 A detailed narrative is contained in the *Life* of Daniel the Stylite 70–85: after an attempt by Basiliscus to secure the holy man's support failed, Acacius sent some of the monastic leaders to beg Daniel to descend from his column and come to the city to rescue the Church; Daniel agreed, and then led a tumultuous procession from S. Sophia to the palace at the Hebdomon and back, during which numerous miracles occurred; the intensity of popular opposition induced Basiliscus to come to S. Sophia and stage a public reconciliation with Acacius and Daniel. Acacius also appealed for support to Rome, and Pope Simplicius responded with letters to the presbyters and archimandrites of Constantinople, Acacius and Basiliscus (*Epist. Avell.* 56–7, 59).

28 The Counter-Encyclical does not, in fact, contain any commendation of Chalcedon, except in the sense that by cancelling the Encyclical, which had anathematized Chalcedon, the legitimacy of the Council was reinstated (it is interpreted in this sense by Rufus, *Plerophories* 82–4, 86; cf. John of Nikiu 88.34). The version of the Counter-Encyclical preserved in *Vaticanus gr.* 1431 contains a final sentence in which doctrinal affiliation is left up to the individual (Schwartz, 'Codex' p. 52:17–20; other minor variants noted by Festugière 485–6), which made Basiliscus' doctrinal neutrality absolutely clear; Allen, *Evagrius* 126–7, speculates that this was deliberately omitted at some stage by a pro-Chalcedonian, in order to increase the impression of a Chalcedonian triumph.

> occurred during our reign, whether as Encyclicals, or in other forms, or indeed anything else whatsoever connected with faith and ecclesiastical organization, be null and void, while we anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches, and every other heresy, and all who hold the same opinions; and that there will be no Synod or other investigation concerning this subject, but these matters will remain unbroken and unshaken; and that the provinces, whose ordination the see of this imperial and glorious city controlled, should be returned to the most devout and most holy patriarch and archbishop, Acacius; of course, those who currently are bishops most beloved of God should remain in their own sees, but after their deaths no precedent should arise from this to the right of ordination of the undefiled see of this imperial and glorious city.[29] This sacred decree of ours is confirmed, beyond any dubiety, to have the force of a sacred ordinance.

And these matters proceeded in this way.

8 But Zeno, after a vision, so they say, of the holy, greatly tried protomartyr Thecla, who encouraged him and promised the restoration of the empire, marched on Byzantium, after suborning with gifts those who were besieging him; he drove out Basiliscus in the second year of his control of the realm **[108]**, and handed him over to his enemies when Basiliscus approached the holy shrines. This Zeno dedicated a huge sanctuary of outstanding magnificence and beauty to the protomartyr Thecla at Seleucia, which lies near the country of the Isaurians; he adorned it with very many imperial dedications, which are preserved even in our time.[30] And so Basiliscus was sent to the country of the Cappadocians

29 The crucial points for Acacius: no new Council, at which he might be condemned, and restoration of his rights of ordination.

30 The cult of Thecla had recently been promoted by the local bishop, Basil of Seleucia, who composed a poem about her actions, and, more importantly, by an anonymous local priest (an enemy of Basil) who wrote the extant account of her life and miracles: see Dagron, *Vie*, and for discussion of the remains of the domed church at Becili / Meriamlik, near modern Silifke, *ibid.* I. 55–73. As a local Isaurian saint she was a natural supporter for Zeno; Daniel the Stylite had predicted to Zeno both his expulsion and eventual return, and had reinforced this with a pronouncement on the imminent overthrow of Basiliscus (*Life* 68, 85).

Of the generals who had besieged Zeno, Illus accompanied him back to Constantinople in 476, while Trocundes was sent to secure Antioch; Illus abandoned Basiliscus after the usurper failed to honour various promises. Armatus, who was supposed to prevent Zeno from

to die, but he was murdered at the road-station of Cucusus together with his wife and children.[31] And Zeno made a law annulling the things framed by Basiliscus the usurper in his Encyclicals.[32] And Peter, who was surnamed Fuller, was expelled from the Church of the Antiochenes, and Paul from that of the Ephesians.[33]

9 To pacify Acacius the bishops of Asia entreated and begged forgiveness, transmitting statements of repentance in which they stated that they had subscribed to the Encyclicals under compulsion, by no means voluntarily, and they affirmed on oath that this was really so and not otherwise, and that they had believed and did believe in accordance with the Synod at Chalcedon.[34] The purport of their writings was as follows:

> A letter, or rather a petition, dispatched to Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, by the bishops of Asia.
>
> To Acacius the most holy and most saintly patriarch of the most holy Church at the imperial Constantinople, the New Rome.

And further on:

> There has arrived among us, in accordance with proper procedure,[35] the one indeed who will fill your place.

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approaching Constantinople, was won over by the promises of the position of *magister militum praesentalis* for himself, and that of Caesar for his son Basiliscus. See Malalas 378:17–380:17.

Basiliscus ruled for one year and eight months.

31 Basiliscus had fled with his family to the baptistery of S. Sophia, but had been induced to leave the sanctuary by a promise that he would not be executed or put to death; as a result he was sent to Cappadocia, where the family was walled up in the tower of a fort (called Limnae in Malalas 380:12) and allowed to starve to death. Cucusus, which was located about 60 km south-east of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was in fact regarded as a city in the fifth century: see Jones, *Cities* 182.

32 *Cod. Iust.* i.2.16, a measure which, while re-establishing the state of affairs before Basiliscus' coup, in fact extended the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople: see Martin, 'Canon' 440–2.

33 The expulsions were part of the reversal of Basiliscus' acts; Peter was sent into exile at Euchaïta (Malalas 380:21–3).

34 I.e. the exact opposite of the assertions in their letter at iii.5 (see n. 21 above).

35 Festugière (314 with n. 26) translates this as 'in good health', the equivalent of καλῶς ποιῶν, on the grounds that Evagrius tended to replace normal expressions by an unusual phrase, but these words occur in a quotation from a document, which Evagrius is unlikely to have adapted. The bishops had good reason to signal their acceptance of Acacius' right to send a deputy to them to impose order.

And a little later:

> Through these depositions we make known that we have subscribed not in accordance with our intention but under constraint, agreeing with these matters in written word and speech but not with the heart. For through your welcome entreaties and with the assent of the Almighty, we believe just as we have received from the 318 lights of the universe and the **[109]** 150 holy Fathers, and, in addition to these, in what was piously and correctly formulated at Chalcedon by the sacred Fathers who were also gathered together there.

Now whether Zachariah the *rhetor* falsely accused them, or whether they lied in stating that they subscribed unwillingly, I am unable to say.[36]

10 Then after Peter, Stephen succeeded to the see of Antioch. The sons of the Antiochenes slew him with reed-pens which had been sharpened like spears, as has been recorded by John the *rhetor*.[37] After Stephen, Calandion controlled the helm of the said seat: he arranged that those who came into his presence should anathematize Timothy, as well indeed as the Encylicals of Basiliscus.[38]

36 The petition to Acacius is not preserved in our text of Zachariah (v.5), which alludes to its contents in a single sentence; thus we have lost the accusation which Zachariah is said to have made against the bishops of Asia, but in successive petitions to Basiliscus and Acacius they had solemnly made contradictory statements about their attitude to the Encyclical, asserting on each occasion that they were giving their opinion without constraint (cf. n. 21 above). Evagrius, only too aware of the rapid reversals of episcopal decisions, is prepared to accept that the bishops may have lied in protesting their support for Chalcedon. For Monophysite exploitation of the frequent changes, see Rufus, *Plerophories* 59.

37 Malalas 381:2–13. The sequence of bishops at Antioch is extremely confused. Peter's immediate successor was one of his followers, John Codonatus, who was replaced after three months by the pro-Chalcedonian Stephen in early 477 (Theophanes 125:15–17). Peter's supporters attacked Stephen for Nestorian views, but he was vindicated at a Synod at Laodicea (Theophanes 126:5–9); Stephen was murdered on 9 March 479, when he left the city to attend the festival of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste at the church to a local saint, Barlaam; his attackers were, allegedly, his own clergy (Malalas 381:2–7). Theophanes (128:17–26; restored as Theodore Lector 421) states that this was a second Stephen, who had just replaced his homonymous predecessor (cf. Zachariah iv.12, p. 100).

For the literary affectation 'sons of the Antiochenes', cf. i.20 (p. 29:8) with n. 175 above.

38 Because of the disorder in Antioch, Zeno instructed Acacius to choose the next patriarch for the city, although the Antiochenes had meantime again chosen John Codonatus: Theophanes 128:22–6. Calandion, a staunch Chalcedonian who did not accept Zeno's Henoticon (for which see iii.14), was ordained in Constantinople (Zachariah iv.12 omits

11 And Zeno intended to banish Timothy from the city of the Alexandrians, but on learning from some that he was already old and had all but entered the universal resting-place, he checked his intention. And indeed shortly afterwards he paid off the common debt. And those in the Alexandrians' city, on their own authority, appointed as bishop Peter, who was surnamed Mongus. When this news came to Zeno, he was annoyed; and Zeno superimposed on him the death penalty, but summoned Timothy, successor to Proterius, who was residing at Canopus because of popular disturbances. And Timothy took over his own see on the orders of the emperor.[39]

12 But, at the instigation of certain people, John, an elder who had been placed as administrator of the venerable shrine of the holy Forerunner and Baptist John, reached the imperial city to negotiate that, if it happened that their bishop departed from among men, the inhabitants of the city of Alexander should have the power to **[110]** promote as prelate whomsoever they might wish. This man, as Zachariah states, was detected by the emperor to be soliciting the bishopric for himself; after providing oaths that he would never seek the Alexandrian see, he returned to his own country. And the emperor decreed that after Timothy's death the man for whom the clergy and the community voted should be bishop.[40] When Timothy died not long after, John gave

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him). Evagrius does not mention that he persuaded Zeno to permit the transfer to Antioch from Philippi in Macedonia of the remains of Eustathius, the anti-Arian bishop of Antioch exiled to Thrace by Constantine (Theodore Lector 435).

39 Evagrius now returns to Zachariah (v.5). Timothy died on 31 July 477, and almost immediately one of his deacons, Peter Mongus (the soubriquet referred to a speech impediment, 'hoarse-voiced'), was consecrated, even though there were not the requisite three bishops present to perform the ceremony (Peter the Iberian, Bishop of Maiuma, Theodosius, Bishop of Antinoe, and the monk Isaiah: *Letters of Severus* 38 [*PO* 12, pp. 294–5]). By early September Zeno's orders for the reappointment of Timothy Salophaciolus had arrived, which caused tumult and slaughter according to Zachariah; Theodore Lector 416 presents the opposite view. Peter Mongus fled into hiding.

Rufus, *Plerophories* 13, records a prediction that Timothy would return from exile for two years, and would be succeeded on his death by his archdeacon; under the latter there would be an incurable schism in the churches, which would last until the Antichrist.

40 Zachariah v.6 (Evagrius has omitted a proclamation by Martyrius of Jerusalem, which anticipated Zeno's Henoticon (see iii.14) in stressing the authority of the first three ecumenical Councils). A deputation of Alexandrians had urged Zeno to reinstate Peter Mongus once Timothy Salophaciolus was dead; John Talaia, a monk from the Tabennesiote

bribes, as the same Zachariah has written, and was promoted to the bishopric of the city of the Alexandrians, in disregard for what he had sworn to the emperor. When the emperor learnt this he ordered that man to be expelled. On the suggestion of certain people he wrote a proclamation to the Alexandrians, which he called Henoticon, after decreeing that the see of Alexandria should be granted to Peter, if he should subscribe to this and receive into communion those of Proterius' party.[41]

13 Pergamius, who had been appointed prefect of Egypt, conveyed this disposition which had been compiled on the advice of Acacius, the bishop of the imperial city. On reaching the city of Alexander and discovering that John had fled, he met Peter and persuaded him to receive the proclamation of Zeno, and furthermore too those who had separated off. Accordingly he received the aforesaid proclamation and subscribed to it, and promised that he would receive those from the opposite side. And so during a public festival in the city of the Alexandrians when everyone accepted the so-called Henoticon of Zeno, Peter also received those of Proterius' party. And after composing a proclamation to the populace in church, he read out the proclamation of Zeno, which was as follows:[42] **[111]**

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monastery (i.e. one which followed the Pachomian rule) at Canopus, who was steward, *oikonomos*, of the Alexandrian church, was sent by Timothy to counter this and demand the appointment of one of his own persuasion. Zeno suspected John of collusion with Illus and Leontius, whose loyalty was already in doubt, and forced him to swear that he would not accept the throne of Alexandria. Imperial attempts to control the episcopal succession at Alexandria had not been successful so far, since the imperial appointees Proterius and Timothy Salophaciolus had failed to establish themselves; Zeno was now paving the way for the return of the popular Peter Mongus (Theodore Lector 422 alleges bribery by Peter).

The church of the Baptist at Alexandria was located on the site of the former Serapaeum: Rufinus xi.27.

41 Zachariah v.7. Timothy died in February 482; John was elevated by the Chalcedonian party and reported this to Illus at Antioch, but not to Zeno at Constantinople (Frend, *Rise* 177). Theodore Lector describes John as a holy man who fought for true doctrine (417). It was on the advice of Acacius (as acknowledged at iii.13) that on 28 July 482 Zeno issued a doctrinal formula, the Henoticon, which would encourage reconciliation at Alexandria and elsewhere.

42 Zachariah v.7. Theognostus, the predecessor of Pergamius as *praefectus Augustalis*, had supposedly been bribed to support the election of John Talaia. Peter had doubts about the failure of the Henoticon to condemn Chalcedon explicitly, but decided that he agreed with what it actually said; his return to the Great Church was occasion for much celebra-

The Henoticon of Zeno[43]

14 The emperor Caesar Zeno, pious, victorious, triumphant, greatest, eternally revered, Augustus, to the most devout bishops and clergy and monks and laity in Alexandria and Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis.

We know that the origin and composition, the power and irresistible shield of our empire is the sole correct and truthful faith, which through divine guidance the 318 holy Fathers gathered at Nicaea expounded, while the 150 similarly holy Fathers assembled at Constantinople confirmed it. Night and day we have employed every prayer, effort and law so that the holy universal and apostolic Church of God everywhere may be multiplied through it – the Church which is the incorruptible and never-ending mother of our sceptres – and that the pious people, remaining in peace and concord concerning God, may proffer acceptable supplications on behalf of our empire, together with the bishops most beloved of God, and the most God-revering clergy, and archimandrites and monks. For while our great God and saviour Jesus Christ, who was made flesh and born of the holy Virgin and Mother of God, Mary, approves and readily accepts our harmonious glorification and worship, on the one hand the enemy nations will be

tion, and Peter took the opportunity to harangue the crowds in favour of the Henoticon (emphasizing that it abrogated Chalcedon) and to praise Zeno, before he actually read out the document. Theodore Lector naturally records the opposing version (424) which stresses John's popularity and the reluctance of the clergy and people to see him depart.

43 The text is also preserved in Schwartz, 'Codex' no. 75 (pp. 52:22–54:21), with minor variants noted by Festugière 486–8. The Encyclical of Basiliscus had been well received by the majority of Eastern clergy, and had failed primarily because of its tactless disregard for the newly confirmed privileges of the Church of Constantinople. Apart from Antioch (where Calandion's control was shaky), the major sees of the Eastern Church were currently occupied by bishops who were unenthusiastic about, or opposed to, the doctrines of Chalcedon. A recent pronouncement by Martyrius of Jerusalem (Zachariah v.6) pointed the way to unity in the East, and this was developed by Zeno, on the advice of Acacius: emphasis on Nicaea, praise for the Council of Constantinople and Cyril's Twelve Anathemas, condemnation for Nestorius, Eutyches and any innovation in the faith; the Tome of Leo and Chalcedon are disregarded, but not explicitly condemned. The Henoticon, issued on 28 July 482, was moderately and cautiously phrased: this ensured its ultimate failure, since Monophysites wanted an anathema on Chalcedon and Leo, while Chalcedonians could not tolerate the demotion of 'their' Council. See Frend, *Rise* 176–83.

utterly destroyed and annihilated, while on the other all will incline their own neck to our power that is with God, while peace and its blessings, temperate weather and bounty of produce and other advantages will be freely bestowed on mankind.[44]

Therefore, since the blameless faith thus preserves both us and **[112]** Roman affairs, petitions have been brought to us by God-revering archimandrites, and hermits, and other respected men; they beg with tears that there be union in the most holy churches, and that limbs be attached to limbs, which the hater of beauty from remotest times has pressed hard to sever, since he knew that he would be defeated if he waged war on the united body of the Church. For from this it comes about that there are indeed countless generations, all those whom time has carried off from life in so many years, of which some have departed deprived of the baptism of rebirth, while others have been carried off to the inexorable destination of mankind without having partaken of the divine communion, and countless murders have been ventured, and with the plethora of bloodshed not only the earth but now indeed the very air has been infected. Who would not pray that these things be transformed to the good?

For this reason indeed we have been concerned that you understand that both we and the churches everywhere neither have held, nor hold, nor shall hold, nor do we know those who hold a different creed or teaching or definition of faith or faith except the aforesaid holy creed of the 318 holy Fathers, which the aforementioned 150 holy Fathers ratified. And if indeed anyone should hold one, we consider him alien. For we are confident that this and only this, as we have said, preserves our empire, and all the people who are judged worthy of the light of salvation are baptized, on receiving this and only this. This too was followed also by all the holy Fathers who gathered at the city of the Ephesians, who also deposed the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently shared his views. This Nestorius, together with Eutyches, men whose opinions are the opposite to the aforesaid, we too anathematize, accepting also the Twelve Chapters which were

44 Cf. Socrates vii.22.13–19, and Sozomen ix.1, for the blessings which the piety of Theodosius II secured for his empire (including peace, alleviation of bad weather, a good harvest).

pronounced by **[113]** Cyril of pious memory, Archbishop of the holy and universal church of the Alexandrians. And we confess as one and not two the only-begotten Son of God, even God, our Lord Jesus Christ who in truth was made man, consubstantial with the Father in divinity and the same consubstantial with us in humanity, Who came down and was made flesh from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and Mother of God. For we declare to be of one being both the miracles and the sufferings which He endured voluntarily in the flesh. For those who divide or confound or introduce an illusion we utterly refuse to receive, since indeed the sinless incarnation, that was in truth from the Mother of God, did not create an additional entity of the Son. For the Trinity has remained a Trinity even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, was made flesh.

And so, knowing that neither the holy and orthodox churches of God everywhere, nor the priests beloved of God who are in charge of them, nor our empire, have tolerated or tolerate a different creed or definition of faith contrary to the aforesaid holy teaching, let us unite ourselves with no hesitation. We have written this not in order to make innovations in the faith but so as to reassure you. But we anathematize anyone who has thought, or thinks, any other opinion, either now or at any time, whether at Chalcedon or at any Synod whatsoever, and especially the aforesaid Nestorius and Eutyches and those who hold their opinions. Accordingly, join with the Church, the spiritual mother, enjoying the same sacred communion in it as us, in accordance with the aforesaid one and only definition of the faith of the 318 holy Fathers. For our all-holy mother the Church is eagerly awaiting to embrace you as legitimate sons, and **[114]** yearns to hear your sweet and long-awaited voice. Therefore hasten yourselves, for in doing this you will both attract to yourselves the goodwill of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ and be praised by our imperial rule.

When this was read, all those in the city of Alexander were united with the holy universal and apostolic Church.

15 Now John, whom we mentioned earlier, after fleeing from Alexandria, reached the elder Rome and caused confusion by saying that he

had been ejected from his own see for the sake of the doctrines of Leo and the Synod of Chalcedon, whereas another had been substituted who was opposed to these. Simplicius, the bishop of the elder Rome, was disturbed by this and wrote to the emperor Zeno, and Zeno responded accusing John of being forsworn, for which reason and for no other he had been driven from his bishopric.[45]

16 And Calandion, the prelate of Antioch, wrote to the emperor Zeno and to Acacius, prelate of Constantinople, and called Peter an adulterer,[46] saying that he had anathematized the Synod of Chalcedon when he came to the city of the Alexandrians. He was subsequently condemned to inhabit Oasis, since he was believed to have supported Illus and Leontius and Pamprepius in the usurpation against Zeno.[47]

Peter the Fuller, the predecessor of Stephen and Calandion, as I have said, recovered his own see.[48] This man also subscribed to the Henoticon of Zeno, and addressed synodical letters to Peter, the bishop of the city of the Alexandrians. Acacius, the prelate of Constantinople, was also in union with him. Martyrius too, the bishop of Jerusalem, addressed synodical letters to Peter.[49] Thereafter certain people separated themselves

45 Zachariah v.9 (no mention of the letter of Simplicius in the extant version). For John Talaia, see iii.12 with nn. 40–1 above. Simplicius had condemned Peter Mongus as a Eutychian, and had written to Zeno to protest against his restoration to the see of Alexandria; Simplicius died on 10 March 483, before learning of the Henoticon which had sidelined Chalcedon; the full ramifications of this affair were handled by his successor, Felix (Frend, *Rise* 181–2).

46 An adulterer because he was installed as bishop when the see of Alexandria was already held by Timothy Salophaciolus.

47 On the revolt of Illus in 484, see iii.27 with n. 87 below. Antioch was one of the strongholds of the rebels, and it might have been difficult for Calandion to avoid all involvement, but it also appears that Illus had been cultivating links with supporters of Chalcedon, such as John Talaia (Zachariah v.6). Calandion's views were supported by other Eastern bishops, who appealed to Pope Felix for help (Theodore Lector 426, 430–1), and were subsequently expelled by Zeno (Theophanes 134:1–6). On the Oasis in Egypt as a place of exile, cf. i. n. 58 above; Peter Mongus, cf. iii.11–13, with nn. 39, 42 above.

48 For Peter's stormy career, see n. 15 above. According to Zachariah v.9, he was warmly welcomed as a new Simon Peter. Theodore Lector (443–4) refers to the many evils which he perpetrated, of which the most damaging to the Chalcedonians was the appointment of Philoxenus as bishop of Hierapolis; when it transpired that Philoxenus had not been baptized, Peter retorted that ordination was enough to make up for the lack.

49 A resumé of Zachariah v.10–12, where the synodical letters are quoted; those of Acacius and Martyrius were addressed to Peter of Alexandria, not Peter the Fuller. At his restoration to Alexandria Peter Mongus had, before commending the Henoticon to the

from communion with Peter, with the consequence that Peter publicly anathematized the Synod at Chalcedon. **[115]** When this came to Acacius of Constantinople, he was vexed and arranged to send people to find out about this. Peter, wishing to reassure them that he had never done anything of the sort, wrote a memorandum in which certain people said that they were aware that Peter had done nothing of the sort.[50]

17 This Peter, being opportunist and unstable, a man who adapted himself to the occasion, was far from holding fast to a single opinion, now anathematizing the Synod at Chalcedon, now uttering a recantation and accepting it wholeheartedly. So, the said Peter wrote a letter to Acacius, the prelate of Constantinople, which went like this word for word:[51]

> The most-high God will recompense your holiness for the great toils and troubles with which, in the circuit of time, you have protected the faith of the holy Fathers, which you have confirmed through unceasing proclamations. Since in this we have found that there is also contained the formula of the 318 holy Fathers, in which we believed at our baptism, consequently we also believe;[52] this indeed was what the 150 holy Fathers gathered at Constantinople confirmed. So, by ceaselessly guiding everyone, you have united the holy Church of God, persuading us with strongest

populace, stated that it cancelled and condemned the whole doctrine of the Council and the Tome of Leo (Zachariah v.7).

50 Zachariah vi.1. Peter Mongus was in an impossible position, since he was expected by Zeno and the prefect Pergamius to welcome into communion former followers of Proterius, provided they accepted the Henoticon (Zachariah v.7, 9), but this upset his own Monophysite supporters, who were already worried by the Henoticon's failure to condemn Chalcedon explicitly and were suspicious of Peter in spite of his anti-Chalcedonian speech when presenting the Henoticon to the Alexandrians (see previous note). Acacius' investigation increased Peter's difficulties, since acquittal implied that he had not condemned Chalcedon and so estranged the Monophysites.

51 A more sympathetic judgement is offered by Frend, *Rise* 187: 'Peter Mongus was forced to balance on the tautest of tight-ropes.' The letter does not survive elsewhere; Allen, *Evagrius* 136, suggests that it was in fact a reply to the letter of Acacius to Peter mentioned in iii.21.

52 Accepting, with Festugière 323 n. 50, the transposition of 'consequently' from before 'in which', as suggested by Bidez–Parmentier (*apparatus ad loc.*), though this does disrupt the common formula 'we believed at baptism and still believe'. The alternative is to supply a main verb, as BEL 356: 'we were disposed to accord with it; that symbol in which we believed at our baptism and still believe'. Fortunately, the sense is clear.

proofs that there was nothing transacted contrary to these at the most holy and ecumenical Synod which occurred at Chalcedon, as it concurred with, and ratified what had been done by, the holy Fathers at Nicaea. For, having found nothing new, of our own accord we have joined in assent and have believed.[53]

We have learnt that certain monks, envious of our brotherliness, have introduced into your saintly hearing certain slanders which, not without difficulty, have diverted your saintliness to anger:[54] **[116]** first, that we have transported to another place the remains of our father who is with the saints, the blessed archbishop Timothy, a thing which is in accord neither with God nor the laws. And furthermore, they have leapt across to another matter which is inconsistent and worse than the previous one. For how could we anathematize the holy Synod at Chalcedon, in which we have confirmed our belief?[55] The jealousy and fickleness of the populace with us, and of the monks desirous of innovation, are not unknown to, nor escape, your devotion: they have plotted together with certain people of evil intent who have broken away from the Church, and they are attempting to seduce the people.[56] And through your prayers we have devised a discourse that is full of healing and which does no harm to the holy Synod at Chalcedon, since we know that nothing new was transacted at it; and as reassurance of the innocent and a defence, we have arranged that

53 Peter's language is certainly evasive, since he strongly implies complete acceptance of Chalcedon, but without categorically stating this.

54 These monks must have been followers of Timothy Salophaciolus, and should be distinguished from the main monastic opposition to Peter, which is described in Zachariah vi.1. Festugière's translation, 'which could scarcely be able to divert . . .' (described as a slight clarification: 323 n. 51) misses the point: Acacius had been convinced by the accusations of Peter's enemies (for the current translation, cf. BEL 356).

55 Peter does not explicitly answer either charge. With regard to the corpse of Timothy, Peter's complimentary language might suggest that he was thinking of his immediate Monophysite predecessor, Timothy Aelurus, not Timothy Salophaciolus: the latter's corpse might well have been removed from the official patriarchal burial area, on the grounds that he had been struck off the diptychs, and so was no longer recognized as a legitimate bishop (Proterius was also struck off, but his corpse had been burnt at the time of his murder). The accusation is also recorded by Theodore Lector 425; Liberatus 17, p. 130:25–28.

56 For the nature of the Alexandrian populace, cf. ii.8 with nn. 94–5 above. Peter is probably now referring to the Monophysite separatists.

those who have united with us should say this. And with much effort I have quickly prevented this.[57]

But I inform your holiness that even now the monks, who are constantly sowing tares, do not rest; they incorporate among themselves as agents certain men who have never lived in monasteries, and go about babbling various rumours against us and against the ecclesiastical peace of Christ; they do not permit us to act canonically and appropriately for the holy and universal Church of God; they prepare the people here to rule us rather than to obey us, and wish to do all that is inappropriate for God. But we trust that your holiness will inform the most sacred master of the universe of all things, and will make provision that a formula be provided for them from his serenity, one required for the ecclesiastical peace that is appropriate for both God and the emperor, so that all may rest quietly in these things.[58] **[117]**

18 And John, who had fled to Rome, was bothering Felix, the bishop of Rome after Simplicius, about what was being done by Peter, and, as Zachariah says, he persuaded that a letter of deposition be dispatched by the same Felix to Acacius on account of his communion with Peter. Acacius did not accept this, on the grounds that it happened uncanonically, as is narrated by the same Zachariah – for some who were pursuing the monastic life in the monastery of the so-called Sleepless presented it. This too is recorded by Zachariah. But it seems to me that he knew nothing of what was done in this, but is reporting mutilated hearsay. I will proceed to relate the exact events.[59] When the petitions were

57 Like Timothy Aelurus, Peter presumably devised a brief form of words that he required all those entering his presence to utter (Festugière 324 n. 53). What Peter claims to have prevented is, probably, schism at Alexandria (this was the objective of his conciliatory formula), not the accusation that he had condemned Chalcedon (as Festugière 324 n. 54, following Valesius).

58 This alludes to the opposition described in Zachariah (vi.1), which comprised deacons and presbyters from the Alexandrian Church as well as monks; Peter had decreed the expulsion of some monks from their monasteries, but his action had aroused further opposition. Peter's wish was for Zeno to issue a revised Henoticon which explicitly rejected Chalcedon, since this alone would ensure peace at Alexandria. The precise reference of 'in these things' (ἐν τούτοις) is unclear.

59 Zachariah's account of events does not survive, and the most detailed narrative is that provided here by Evagrius; this appears to be based on the records of the Council which Felix convened against Acacius at Rome on 28 July 484 (Allen, *Evagrius* 137), and Eva-

presented by John to Felix against Acacius, on the grounds that he was unlawfully in communion with Peter and concerning other matters which were being uncanonically done by him, Bishops Vitalis and Misenus were sent by Felix to Zeno to secure that the Synod at Chalcedon should prevail, that Peter should be expelled as heretical, and that Acacius should be sent to Felix to render accounts on the matters brought against him by John, whom we have often mentioned.[60]

19 But before these men reached the imperial city, Cyril, the leader of the so-called Sleepless, sent to Felix to reproach his slowness when such great offences were being committed against the correct faith; and Felix wrote to those with Misenus that they should do nothing before they encountered Cyril, and discovered from him what was to be done.[61]

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grius' confidence in his source may explain the emphasis on his accuracy (cf. i.7 at n. 67 for an analogous case). The brief version of Theodore Lector 431–4 (= Theophanes 131:23–132:1;132:20–33) is referred to in a scholion to this chapter: see Bidez–Parmentier 244.

For the flight of John Talaia from Alexandria to Rome, see iii.15. The deposition of Acacius could be dismissed as uncanonical because the patriarch was not given a chance to defend himself, and had not been condemned by a full synod of Eastern patriarchs; Felix and his successors justified the action on the grounds that Acacius had convicted himself by holding communion with acknowledged heretics.

The Constantinopolitan monastery of the Sleepless Monks (Acoemeti), located on the Golden Horn near the capital, derived its name from the fact that the monks in relays maintained a continuous liturgy. It was a centre of staunch support for Chalcedon, and had been used to house anti-Chalcedonian exiles such as Peter the Fuller: see further Janin, *Églises* 16–17.

Delivery of the letter of deposition was not easy; the Pope's envoy Totus had to evade the guard posted at Abydus on the Hellespont, and then the letter was surreptitiously attached to Acacius' vestments during a service in S. Sophia (Liberatus 17, p. 131:12–17).

There is a check list, with references, to the documentation connected with this complicated dispute in Schwartz, *Sammlungen* pp. 161–70. The letter of deposition to Acacius is Felix, *Ep.* 6 (Thiel); = *Coll. Veron.* 5 (Schwartz, *Sammlungen* pp. 6–7).

60 The bishops (Vitalis of Truentinum in Picenum, and Misenus of Cumae) carried letters to both Zeno and Acacius: Felix, *Epp.* 1–2 (Thiel); = *Coll. Berol.* 20–1 (Schwartz, *Sammlungen* pp. 63–73). These emissaries were probably the ones arrested at Abydus on the orders of Zeno and Acacius and then imprisoned (Theodore Lector 432–3).

61 The papal response to the Henoticon had been delayed by the illness and death of Simplicius in March 483, and then by the need for Felix to discover the facts of a case about which Acacius was deliberately not providing full information. This correspondence is not otherwise attested.

20 Other memoranda also came to them from Felix, as well as letters to Zeno concerning the Synod at Chalcedon and the persecution in Africa under Huneric.[62] He also sent messages to Acacius.[63] Zeno responded to him that John had needlessly disturbed him, since John had sworn that he would never **[118]** on any account make his way into the see of Alexandria, but that, violating and disregarding his oaths, he had committed complete sacrilege; and that Peter had not been ordained without scrutiny, but after subscribing with his own hand that he accepted the faith of the 318 holy Fathers who had assembled at Nicaea, which too the holy Synod at Chalcedon followed.[64] And this was written, in these terms:

> It should be beyond dispute that both our piety, and the aforementioned most holy Peter, and all the most holy churches accept and revere the most holy Chalcedonian Synod, which accords with the faith of the Nicene Synod.

And there are contained in the transactions letters from the said Cyril and other archimandrites of the imperial city,[65] and from bishops and clergy of the Egyptian district to Felix, against Peter as a heretic and against those who communicated with him. Those from the monastery of the Sleepless who came to Felix also accused those with Misenus, on the grounds that until their arrival at Byzantium Peter had been surreptitiously read out in the holy diptychs,[66] but that from that time until the present it was done openly; and thus those with Misenus were in commu-

62 For these letters, cf. Theodore Lector 431. The Vandal conquerors of Africa were Arians, and their first king, Geiseric, had prevented the ordination of orthodox bishops and inflicted some martyrdoms. His son and successor Huneric (477–84) was much more severe: only Arians were permitted to hold public office, and then, on 20 May 483, Huneric reiterated the prohibition on Nicene clergy celebrating the liturgy and summoned their bishops to a debate at Carthage on 1 February 484 (Victor of Vita, *History* i.29–51; ii.23, 39–47). This crisis would further have distracted the Roman Church from its dispute with Constantinople.

63 Perhaps the letter preserved as Felix, *Epp.* 3 (Thiel); = *Coll. Berol.* 23 (Schwartz, *Sammlungen* p. 75).

64 This letter does not survive elsewhere.

65 Felix's replies to these letters survive: Felix, *Epp.* 12, 16 (Thiel); = *Coll. Berol.* 29–30 (Schwartz, *Sammlungen* pp. 77–9).

66 The diptychs were lists of people, deceased as well as alive, who received special prayers during the liturgy; these lists were read out so that exclusion or inclusion of a name was a public sign of the status of that individual, whether subject to anathema or accepted as orthodox.

nion. And the letter of the Egyptians said the same about Peter, and that John was orthodox and lawfully ordained whereas Peter had been ordained by only two bishops who were very similar to him in their false doctrine; and that right from the time of John's flight all forms of insults had been imposed on the orthodox; that Acacius knew all this from various people who had come to him in the imperial city, and that they found Acacius to be Peter's accomplice in everything.

21 Symeon, one of the Sleepless monks **[119]** who had been sent by Cyril, exaggerated these things, for he accused those with Misenus and Vitalis of being in communion with the heretics, since the name of Peter had been expressly proclaimed in the holy diptychs, and in this way many of the simpler folk had been misled by the heretics, who said that Peter had been accepted by the see of Rome as well. And in response to various enquiries Symeon said that those with Misenus did not agree to meet any orthodox person, or arrange a delivery of their letters,[67] or establish accurately any of the outrages against the correct faith. And Silvanus too, a presbyter who had been with Misenus and Vitalis at the city of Constantine, was brought in and confirmed the declaration of the monks. A letter of Acacius to Simplicius was also read out, which said that Peter had long ago been deposed and was a son of night.[68] And on these grounds Misenus and Vitalis were removed from the priesthood and severed from the undefiled communion, when the whole Synod passed this vote in these terms:[69]

> The Roman Church does not accept Peter the heretic, who was indeed long ago condemned by the vote of the holy see, excommunicated and anathematized. Even if there were no other objection to him, this would have been sufficient, that since he was ordained by heretics, he could not be leader of the orthodox.

It also contained this:

> The affair demonstrated that Acacius of Constantinople deserves a most substantial rebuke on the grounds that, although he

67 According to Theodore Lector (432–3) the letters had been confiscated after their arrest; they were then threatened with execution and subjected to other inducements to persuade them to communicate with Acacius.

68 The letter, which must have been sent before the Henoticon established union in the East, survives in *Coll. Veron*. 4 (Schwartz, *Sammlungen* pp. 4–5).

69 The Council's decision is at Schwartz, *Sammlungen* pp. 6–7.

> wrote to Simplicius and called Peter a heretic, he has not now made this plain to the emperor, which he ought to have done if he was truly devoted to Zeno. However, **[120]** by greed rather, he is devoted to the emperor and is not devoted to the faith.[70]

But let us return the account to the sequel.[71] A letter of Acacius was brought to the prelates of Egypt, and the clerics, and monks, and the whole populace, in which he attempted to restore the schism that had occurred. He had also written to Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, about these things.

22 Now, while the schism was at its height in Alexandria, Peter got some of the bishops and archimandrites to communicate with him, after again anathematizing the Tome of Leo and what was transacted at Chalcedon and those who did not accept the writings of Dioscorus and Timothy. And as he did not manage to persuade the rest, he drove the majority from their monasteries.[72] Because of this Nephalius came to the imperial city and reported these matters to Zeno. Being greatly disturbed he dispatched Cosmas, one of his bodyguards, to convey numerous threats against Peter for the sake of union, on the grounds that he had effected great dissension through his personal harshness. Since none of his objectives turned out successfully for him, Cosmas retired to the imperial city, after returning their own abodes to the solitaries who had been driven out.[73] And next Arsenius was sent by the emperor, after being

70 Bidez–Parmentier (*apparatus ad loc.*) were uncertain about the text, but the sense is defended by Festugière, 328 n. 69: Acacius' devotion to the emperor is flawed, perhaps because it rested on ambition or greed, and he has no devotion to the faith. The proceedings of the Council at Rome ended with an anathema on Acacius, to which he responded against the Pope (Theodore Lector 434); Evagrius omits this exchange, which marked the start of the Acacian schism that persisted until the accession of Justin I in 518.

71 Evagrius now marks his return to Zachariah's narrative of problems in Egypt.

72 Zachariah vi.1; the separatists had appointed a commission led by Peter the Iberian and the monk Elijah to investigate the strength of Peter's opposition to Chalcedon, and they selected four of his doctrinal works to which Peter was required to subscribe (presumably to indicate that he had not changed his mind since their composition); some separatists accepted this as equivalent to an anathema on Chalcedon, and returned to communion, but others were not convinced; Bishop Theodore of Antinoe was forced out of his monastery. Severus, *Letters* i.60, p. 182, refers to troubles at Alexandria after Timothy began to receive back Proterius' followers.

73 Zachariah vi.2. On the envoy Nephalius, a monk from Nubia, see Moeller, 'Représentant', esp. pp. 80–101. In 487 the separatist monks, supposedly numbering 30,000, gathered

promoted as controllor of Egypt and of the military units. On reaching the city of Alexander together with Nephalius, he initiated discussions concerning union, but after failing to persuade he dispatched some of them to the imperial city. And so a great many discussions concerning the Synod at Chalcedon were conducted in Zeno's presence, but they produced nothing in practice, since Zeno utterly refused to anathematize the Synod at Chalcedon.[74]

23 In the meantime, after Acacius of Constantinople **[121]** set out on the common voyage, Fravita inherited the bishopric. When Fravita sent synodical letters to Peter of Alexandria, Peter sent reciprocal letters, going over the same things concerning the transactions at Chalcedon. But when Fravita also departed this world after being bishop for only four months, Euphemius was appointed bishop after him. This man received Peter's synodical letters which had been sent to Fravita. And on finding the anathema against what was done at Chalcedon, he was greatly disturbed and severed himself from communion with Peter. And a letter by each of them is extant, both that from Fravita and that from Peter to Fravita, which I will pass over on account of the length of the text.[75] When accordingly they were on the point of coming into dispute

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to present their complaints against Peter to Cosmas (*PLRE* II. 326–7, *s.v.* Cosmas 3), but only a delegation of about 200 was permitted to enter Alexandria for the confrontation in the Great Church, for fear of popular unrest. Peter explicitly anathematized Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo, but most of the monks refused to accept the confession because Peter remained in communion with the other patriarchs who, while accepting the Henoticon, would not condemn Chalcedon (cf. Severus, *Letters* iv.2, pp. 254–5). The people of Alexandria sided with Peter against the monks.

74 Zachariah vi.4. When Cosmas returned to Constantinople and informed Zeno of the intransigence of the separatists, who were effectively questioning the adequacy of the Henoticon, Zeno decided to coerce them into union with Peter, and to this end dispatched Arsenius with exceptional military and civil authority (*PLRE* II. 152, *s.v.* Arsenius 2); if this failed, the recalcitrant leaders were to be summoned to the capital. Zachariah does not mention Zeno's refusal to anathematize Chalcedon, and refers instead to his amazement at the chastity and intelligence of the monks.

Festugière, 329 n. 70, is critical of the clarity of this chapter, somewhat unfairly.

75 Acacius died on 26 November 489, and his successor Fravita survived only until March 490. The letters are preserved in Zachariah vi.5–6; Fravita's is a moderate and noncommittal invitation to union, whereas Peter's reply proclaimed his attachment to the Henoticon, which he incorrectly presented as an anathema on Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. According to Theophanes (133:7–14) Fravita tried to establish good relations with

with each other and summoning their own synods, Peter anticipated this by dying and Athanasius succeeded to his see. He attempted to bring together those who had separated, but he did not prevail since the parties were divided into different opinions. Subsequently this Athanasius dispatched synodical letters to Palladius, the bishop of the city of Antiochus after Peter, and behaved similarly concerning the Synod at Chalcedon. The same was also done by John, who succeeded to the see at Alexandria after Athanasius. And after Palladius, the prelate at Antioch, died and Flavian succeeded to his throne, Solomon, an elder of Antioch, was sent by him to Alexandria, conveying synodical letters and seeking reciprocal missives from John to Flavian. And after John another John succeeded to the see of Alexandria. These matters proceeded in this way as far as a certain point in Anastasius' reign: for he expelled Euphemius. I have had to link these together in sequence for the sake of clarity and comprehension.[76] **[122]**

24 But Zeno, on the advice of Illus, also slew Armatus the relative of the empress Verina: when this man had been sent against him by Basiliscus, Zeno had won him by gifts, made him an ally instead of an enemy, and appointed his son Basiliscus as Caesar in the city of Nicaea; but after re-entering Byzantium he murdered Armatus and designated his son Basiliscus as priest instead of Caesar. Subsequently this man was accorded episcopal rank.[77]

Pope Felix as well as Peter, but his inconsistent stance was revealed. Euphemius attempted to restore communion with Felix, but his efforts were rebuffed since he refused to remove the names of Acacius and Fravita from the diptychs (on which see n. 66 above): Theophanes 135:17–20. For the awkward position of the patriarchs of Constantinople, see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.1 263–6.

76 The material for this dense synchronism was provided by Zachariah vi.4, 6–7; Evagrius' presentation was determined by that of his source, except that he omitted Zachariah's information on Jerusalem. Peter Mongus died on 29 October 489; his successor Athanasius occupied the see until his death on 17 October 496; he was followed by John (496 – 29 April 505) and John II (505 – 22 May 516), who were too late to be included in Zachariah's synchronism, which ended in 491.

At Antioch Peter the Fuller, who had returned to his see for the third and last time after the deposition of Calandion in 484, died in 489; he was followed by Palladius (490–8) and Flavian (498–512). At Constantinople Euphemius was removed in spring 496 (cf. iii.30 at n. 96, and iii.32 with n. 113 below).

77 After the long section on the doctrinal consequences of the Henoticon for which Zachariah was the basic source (iii.9–23), Evagrius returns to secular events recorded by

25 Theoderic, who was Scythian by race, also rebelled against Zeno and, after collecting his personal forces, campaigned in Thrace against Zeno: he ravaged the country in his path as far as the mouth of the Black Sea and almost captured the imperial city, but for the fact that some of those who were particularly close to him were suborned and plotted to slay him. On realizing that his own men were disloyal he retreated to the rear, but not long afterwards he was reckoned among the deceased.[78] I will also report the manner of his death, which occurred like this. A spear with its thong prepared for throwing was hanging up in front of his tent, as a barbarian insignia. Then, wishing to exercise his body, he ordered a horse to be brought and, since he was not in the habit of mounting with the help of a groom, he vaulted onto the horse. But it was unbroken and headstrong, so that before Theoderic was seated astride, it reared up its front legs, standing up straight on its hind legs alone. While Theoderic was struggling hard, neither daring to rein in the horse by the bridle lest it should fall on him, nor keeping his seat firmly, but being whirled round hither and thither, he violently shook the spear point, which struck him at an angle and wounded his flank. From there he was taken to his bed and after surviving for a few days, he terminated his life because of this wound.[79]

Eustathius (cf. n. 84 below), though without making the chronological leap clear; cf. Allen, *Evagrius* 120.

Armatus: *PLRE* II. 148–9: he was nephew of Verina and the usurper Basiliscus who sent him to Asia Minor in 476, after the defection of Illus, to prevent Zeno from returning to Constantinople (cf. n. 30 above); Zeno had him murdered in the palace in 477/8 by one of his own retainers on the grounds that he was untrustworthy (Malalas 381:14–382:9; *Chron. Pasch.* 602:20–603:18; Theophanes 125:2–13), but Illus would undoubtedly have seen Armatus as a rival and might also have been involved. The young Basiliscus was made a reader at Blachernae, and subsequently became bishop of Cyzicus.

78 The Goth Theoderic Strabo, leader of one of the two tribal warbands in the Balkans during Zeno's reign: *PLRE* II. 1073–6 *s.v.* Theodericus 5; for detailed discussion of his complex dealings with Zeno, see Heather, *Goths and Romans* 272–99. In 479 Theoderic had led his troops on Constantinople to lend support to Marcian's coup (see iii.26), but Zeno sent gifts to him and his soldiers, which persuaded them to retire; in 481 he made a determined attack on Constantinople, and attempted also to cross into Bithynia, but was forced to retire.

79 The accident occurred while Theoderic was moving from the vicinity of Constantinople towards Greece in 481, at a place called the Stables of Diomedes (John of Antioch fr. 211.5).

26 Next,[80] after a difference with Zeno, Marcian too attempted usurpation; he was son of Anthemius, who had been emperor of Rome, **[123]** and was related by marriage to Leo, the previous emperor, since he had taken his younger daughter Leontia as wife. And when a fierce battle had been joined around the palace and many had fallen on either side, Marcian routed his opponents, and would have become master of the palace if he had not let slip the opportunity by delaying the action until the morrow.[81] For Opportunity is swift-winged and when he lands at one's feet is perhaps caught, but once he escapes the grasp he takes to the air and laughs at his pursuers, not allowing himself to be accessible thereafter. It is no doubt for this reason that sculptors and painters, while letting his hair hang long in front, shave his head behind to the skin: they most cleverly signify that when he happens to come from behind he is perhaps seized by his hanging lock, but when he gets in front he escapes clean away, since he has nothing by which he may be seized by his pursuer.[82] This in fact happened in the case of Marcian, who lost the opportunity that was favourably disposed for him, but was unable to find it thereafter. For on the following day he was betrayed by his own men and, being abandoned alone, he fled to the precinct of the venerable Apostles. He was dragged away from there by force and relegated to the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. And after entering the company of certain monks, he was subsequently detected while planning to escape; he was banished by the emperor to Tarsus in Cilicia, and after being shorn of his hair

80 Before the death of Theoderic.

81 Marcian (*PLRE* II. 717–18, *s.v.* Marcianus 17) launched a coup against Zeno in 479, with the support of his brothers Procopius and Romulus and of Theoderic Strabo: in addition to his links with the Western emperor Anthemius (467–72) and Leo, he was grandson of the emperor Marcian, whose only daughter, Euphemia, had married Anthemius. Marcian collected a force of foreigners and citizens, and launched attacks on Zeno inside the palace and Illus; the assault on the palace was quite successful and Zeno only escaped capture by flight (John of Antioch fr. 211.3).

82 A characteristic piece of moralizing by Evagrius which deliberately delays the narrative at a crucial point; for the sentiments, cf. vi.12, p. 230:2–6 (speech by Gregory of Antioch). The reference is to a famous statue of Kairos, Opportunity, by Lysippus, of which there is an explanation in the epigram by Posidippus (*Anth. Gr.* xvi.275); for the importance to Evagrius of timing and opportunity, cf. also v.19 (praise of Maurice), and discussion in Chesnut, *Histories* 211.

was ordained presbyter.[83] These things have been elegantly narrated by Eustathius the Syrian.[84]

27 The same man has written that Zeno concocted numerous plots against his mother-in-law Verina, that thereafter he sent her off to the province of Cilicia, and that subsequently, after the usurpation of Illus, she moved to what is called the fort of Papirius where she departed this life.[85] And Eustathius has most eloquently written about the affair of Illus, how he escaped after being the object of plots by Zeno, and how **[124]** Zeno committed to death the man who had been commanded to slay him, providing for him the execution of his head as reward for failure. As for Illus, Zeno even designated him commander of the Eastern forces, as he strove to avoid detection.[86] But Illus, after attaching

83 Marcian had the upper hand on the first day of the coup, but lost the advantage when he paused for food and sleep; overnight Illus was able to transport Isaurian reinforcements from Chalcedon and, helped by some bribery from Illus, these tipped the balance in a fierce fight on the next day; on being removed from the Holy Apostles, Marcian was ordained an elder by Patriarch Acacius. He escaped from detention during an Isaurian uprising, and caused trouble in Galatia, but was crushed by Illus' brother Trocundes and imprisoned in a fortress, perhaps in Isauria rather then at Tarsus. When Illus rebelled against Zeno, he used his old rival as an envoy to Italy to seek help from Odoacer (Theophanes 126:35–127:11; John of Antioch frr. 211.3–4, 214.2; Theodore Lector 116:10–19).

84 Eustathius was probably the source for all the secular events in chs. 24–6, and he is expressly referred to again for secular material in chs. 27 and 29. The secular narrative in Theophanes 126:10–130:8, which covers the same sequence of revolts against Zeno, was probably also derived from Eustathius (Allen, *Evagrius* 139); Candidus may have been the ultimate source for Eustathius.

85 It was Zeno, rather, who had been the object of plotting by Verina, who had been closely involved in the usurpation of her brother Basiliscus in 475–6; after Zeno's return, Verina was jealous of the influence of Illus, whose desertion of Basiliscus had permitted Zeno to begin the recovery of his power, and in 478 she arranged an assassination attempt on Illus with the help of the praetorian prefect Epinicius. Verina's involvement eventually became known, and Zeno was forced to surrender his mother-in-law to Illus (Candidus 89–94); she was tricked into crossing to Chalcedon (perhaps the origin of the plotting by Zeno which Evagrius mentions), where Illus got hold of her and took her east; she was made to become a nun at Tarsus, and then confined in the fortress of Dalisandon in Isauria. Illus' revolt in 484 returned her to prominence, since she was used to proclaim Leontius as emperor (n. 87 below), but as the rebellion faltered she had to take refuge with Illus in the fort of Papirius, where she died (John of Antioch frr. 211.1–3, 214.2–5; Theophanes 128:30–129:26; Malalas, *Exc. de Insid.* fr. 35).

86 There were at least three assassination attempts against Illus (details in *PLRE* II. 586–90, *s.v.* Illus 1): in 477, after the murder of Armatus, Zeno instructed one of his slaves, Paul, to kill Illus, but the latter narrowly escaped and was only soothed by the surrender of Paul

to himself as supporters Leontius, and also Marsus, a man of repute, and Pamprepius, came to the Eastern regions. Next, the same Eustathius most wisely reports the proclamation of Leontius which occurred at Tarsus in Cilicia; and how these men profited from the usurpation after Theoderic, a man who was Gothic by race but was also distinguished among the Romans, was sent out against them with native and foreign forces; and that the men were miserably slain by Zeno in return for their support for him;[87] and that Theoderic, on perceiving the treachery of Zeno, withdrew to the elder Rome, although some say that this was indeed at the suggestion of Zeno. And after overcoming Odoacer in battle he subjected Rome to himself and nominated himself king.[88]

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and the award of the consulship for the following year; the next attempt was that arranged by Verina in 478 (see previous note); in 480 the empress Ariadne, after failing to persuade Illus to release her mother, secured Zeno's consent for another attempt, and Illus only narrowly escaped an attack in the Hippodrome, losing his right ear in the process. In his anxiety to retain Illus' loyalty while the Theoderics were causing trouble in the Balkans, Zeno allowed him to withdraw from Constantinople and appointed him *magister militum per Orientem* in 481.

87 Zeno finally broke with Illus in 483, when the latter refused to release Zeno's brother, Longinus, who had been his prisoner since 475. Illus rebelled in 484, and solicited help from the Persians, Armenians and Odoacer. Zeno sent Leontius, another Isaurian who was currently *magister militum per Thracias* (*PLRE* II. 670–1, *s.v.* Leontius 17) to crush the revolt, but Illus won him over and had him proclaimed emperor by Verina on 19 July; Marsus, an honorary ex-consul (*PLRE* II. 728–9, *s.v.* Marsus 2), was another Isaurian associate of Illus; both Leontius and Marsus were connected with the pagan philosopher Pamprepius (*PLRE* II. 825–8), who had come to Illus' notice by predicting the failure of Marcian's revolt. The rebels were severely defeated near Antioch in September 484, and withdrew to the fort of Papirius in Isauria, where they held out for four years until their betrayal and execution.

Theoderic the Amal (*PLRE* II. 1077–84, *s.v.* Theodericus 7) was currently *magister militum praesentalis* and consul for 484: hence there is no need for Festugière's addition of 'later' to qualify his distinction 'among the Romans' (334 n. 82: assuming that the distinction refers to his conquest of Italy); he collaborated with John the Scythian against Illus, probably commanding both his Gothic warband and the regular troops of the praesental army, but he was recalled to Constantinople when Zeno began to suspect his loyalty, and his troops also returned after the siege of Papirius began.

88 Theoderic already had experience of Zeno's treachery (Malchus fr. 18), and could contemplate the fates of Armatus and Illus. Theoderic was at odds with Zeno by 486, when he ravaged Thrace; in 487 he pillaged the suburbs of Constantinople, but was persuaded to retire when his sister brought a large gift of money from the capital. In 488 agreement was reached between Zeno and Theoderic that the Goths would move west to oust Odoacer (*PLRE* II. 791–3, *s.v.* Odovacer), whose control of Italy Zeno had never recognized; after defeats in 489 and 490, and a long siege in Ravenna, Odoacer was killed in 493 while nego-

28 John the *rhetor* narrates that in the time of Zeno a former artisan Mamianus became distinguished and participated in the senatorial council, and that in the suburb of Daphne he constructed the so-called Antiforum, which occupied a site that was previously given over to vines and was suitable for cultivation, opposite the public bath; there stands the bronze statue of Mamianus, the lover of the city. In the city he executed two colonnades, which were extremely beautiful in their construction and adorned with a conspicuous resplendence of stonework; as a sort of interposition between the two colonnades, he set up a Tetrapylon which was most ornately provided with columns and bronze work.[89] We have found that the colonnades still preserve, along with their appellation, remnants of their former glory in the Proconnesian marbles that comprise the floor, **[125]** although the construction does not actually contain anything notable: for they recently underwent reconstruction because of the calamities that have occurred, and nothing was added to them as decoration. But of the Tetrapylon that was made by Mamianus, we have not found even the slightest trace.[90]

29 Now, when Zeno died childless from the disease of epilepsy after the seventeenth year of his reign, his brother Longinus, who had advanced to a position of great power, hoped to confer the empire on himself; but he did not obtain what he expected, for Ariadne conferred the crown on Anastasius, although he had not yet reached the senate but was enrolled in the so-called *schola* of the silentiaries.[91] Now Eustathius narrates that

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tiating with Theoderic. See further Heather, *Goths and Romans* 304–8; Moorhead, 'Theoderic'.

89 Presumably statues, as Festugière 335 n. 83.

90 Malalas' account does not survive, with the exception of one sentence in the Slavonic translation (p. 103) referring to Mamianus' buildings at Daphne. Mamianus is otherwise unknown. An Antiforum at Antioch is attested in 507, when rioters suspended the corpse of the *praefectus vigilum* from a statue there (Malalas 397:23), and there was also one at Edessa; they were perhaps enclosed structures like a later bazaar, a substitute for the traditional forum. The location of the colonnades and Tetrapylon is unknown, though they might have replaced those on the island destroyed in the earthquake of 458: see Downey, *Antioch* 500–1.

91 Zeno died on 9 April 491; cf. Theophanes 135:31–136:5, probably derived ultimately from Eustathius (Jeep, 'Quellenuntersuchungen' 161). Malalas, 391:1–4, gives dysentery as the cause of death. A less pleasant version is recorded in Cedrenus (I. p. 622:7–23) and Zonaras (xiv.2.31–5): Zeno was buried alive, after either becoming insensible through drink or suffering unspecified pains, and, though he shouted from inside the imperial sarcophagus, Ariadne would not allow anyone to open it.

from the start of the reign of Diocletian up to the death of Zeno and the proclamation of Anastasius 207 years have elapsed; and from the sole rule of Augustus 532 years and 7 months; and from the reign of Alexander of Macedon 832 years with a similar addition of 7 months; and from the Roman kings and Romulus 1052, also plus 7 months; and from the capture of Troy 1686 plus 7 months.[92] This Anastasius, who had as his homeland Epidamnus, which is now called

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Longinus (*PLRE* II. 689–90, *s.v.* Longinus 6) had been held captive by Illus for a decade (cf. n. 87 above), but after his release in 485 he became *magister militum praesentalis*, and was consul for a second time in 490.

Anastasius was crowned on 11 April; for the silentiaries, cf. ii n. 116 above. There had been long deliberations about the succession, until eventually the senate entrusted the decision to Ariadne; before the coronation, Anastasius had to give a promise of orthodoxy to Patriarch Euphemius. There is a detailed narrative in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cer.* i.92.

92 Theophanes (136:16–20) also marks Zeno's death with a computation which has one common element with Evagrius, the years from Diocletian; Theophanes was more concerned with the *annus mundi* (cf. Malalas 391:5–6), which was not part of Evagrius' chronological scheme. Some writers marked the start of the reign of their contemporary emperor with a chronological calculation (Malalas on Justinian; *Chronicon Paschale* on Heraclius), and Eustathius may well have provided the basis for Evagrius' reckoning. On the other hand, the early years of Anastasius' reign were also a time of eschatological significance, since on most calculations the world would soon reach its 6,000th year (Alexander, *Baalbek* 118–20), which would also make a chronological summation relevant.

Of the dates, the calculation from the start of Diocletian's reign (284) is accurate; that for the sole of rule of Augustus would work out at September 43 BC, which is very close to the beginning of the Second Triumvirate. The figure for Alexander is suspect, since the interval between the death of Alexander and the start of Augustus should have been 280 years, not 300; it is likely that either Evagrius, when drawing on Eustathius, or a copyist was distracted by the Augustan figure (532 giving rise to 832 instead of 812). It can be deduced that the original version of Malalas agreed with the figures for Diocletian and Augustus, but differed on Alexander (for which Malalas' figure is also suspect): see Jeffreys, *Studies* 116–18.

The calculation for the Roman kings and Romulus is more problematic, since it produces the year 563 BC; in Malalas the interval between the overthrow of the kings and Augustus was 482 years (464 consular years plus 18 years for Julius Caesar: 214:1–4; 215:21–216:2), not 520 as here. At ii.16 (cf. ii n. 151 above) the figure of 1303 years is given for the time between Romulus and the end of the Western Empire in 476 (i.e. 828 BC for Romulus).

The date for Troy works out as 1197 BC; the most common calculation is equivalent to 1183 BC (R. Rutherford, *Homer, Greece and Rome* Surveys 26 [Oxford, 1996] 2); Malalas synchronized the reign of Priam of Troy with that of David of Israel (91:1–2), which would point to a date about half a century earlier than in Evagrius.

The fact that the last four dates all offer a figure for years 'plus 7 months' is suspicious; whoever made the calculations, not knowing the exact dates, decided that all these events

Dyrrachium, took over Zeno's empire as well as Ariadne, the wife of the same Zeno.[93] And first he dispatched to his place of origin Zeno's brother Longinus who held the office of *magister*, which men previously called commander of the regiments at court, and thereafter many other Isaurians as well, who had supposedly requested this.[94]

30 This Anastasius, since he was a peaceful person, wished to make absolutely no innovations, especially in connection with the position in the Church. But he exercised every **[126]** means so that the most holy churches should remain undisturbed, and every subject enjoy profound tranquillity, with all strife and contention being removed from ecclesiastical and political affairs.[95]

And so, during this period, whereas the Synod at Chalcedon was neither openly proclaimed in the most holy churches, nor indeed universally repudiated, each of the prelates conducted himself according to his belief. And some adhered very resolutely to what had been issued at it, and made no concession with regard to any syllable of what had been defined by it, and did not even indeed admit a change of letter; rather, with great frankness they also recoiled from, and absolutely declined to

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occurred at the start of the indiction year (1 September; i.e. seven months before Anastasius' accession).

93 For Anastasius' relatives, see *PLRE* II. 78–80, *s.v.* Anastasius 4; Ariadne had in fact selected the elderly Anastasius for the empire and as her spouse.

94 Zeno's brother was in fact banished to Alexandria, where he died eight years later in the Thebaid (John of Antioch fr. 214b; Theophanes 137:1–5, who adds that he was ordained a presbyter). It was another Isaurian, Longinus of Cardala (*PLRE* II. 688, *s.v.* Longinus 3), who was currently *magister officiorum* (for Evagrius' circumlocution to describe the office, cf. the description of Celer at iii.30, p. 130:24–5); he was dismissed from office by Anastasius as part of a general purge of Isaurians, and returned to his own country where he soon organized a revolt of similarly disgruntled compatriots.

95 Evagrius was very favourably disposed towards Anastasius (see Introduction, and Allen, *Evagrius* 166–70), and so presents a rosy picture of the state of the churches under him, though it is also true that there was a period of calm during his first decade. At his accession, Anastasius was already suspect on grounds of doctrine, and had to give Patriarch Euphemius a written oath against doctrinal innovation before his coronation could proceed (iii.32), and in his later years he supported the move towards a moderate Monophysite position. The Syriac *Chronicle of Edessa* alleged that Anastasius, in his 21st year, attempted to have the text of the *acta* of Chalcedon removed from Euphemia's tomb, but was thwarted by a divine fire (p. 9 of the Guidi translation). Theodore Lector's account is systematically hostile to Anastasius (446ff.).

tolerate communion with those, who did not accept what had been issued by it. Others, on the other hand, not only refused to accept the Synod at Chalcedon and what had been defined by it, but even encompassed it and the Tome of Leo with anathema. Others relied on the Henoticon of Zeno, and that even though they were at odds with one another over the one and the two natures, since some were deceived by the composition of the missive, while others inclined rather to greater peace. As a result all the churches were divided into distinct parties, and their prelates had no communion with one another. Consequently it came about that there were very many divisions both in the East and in the western regions and in Libya, since the Eastern bishops were not on terms with those in the West or in Libya, nor in turn were the latter with those in the East. The situation became more absurd. For the prelates of the East were not even in communion with each other, nor indeed were those directing the sees of Europe or Libya, and much less so with outsiders. When the emperor Anastasius saw this he expelled those of the bishops who were making innovations, if ever he found one, contrary to the custom for the region, either by proclaiming the Synod at Chalcedon or encompassing it with anathema. **[127]** Thus he banished from the queen of cities first Euphemius, as has been recorded earlier, and then Macedonius, after whom came Timothy, while from Antioch he banished Flavian.[96]

96 For the confused position in the churches, see Allen, *Evagrius* 145–6; Gray, *Defense* 34–40; Frend, *Rise* 190–201; there are predictions of the disunity in Rufus, *Plerophories* 50–1. Throughout Anastasius' reign the Eastern Churches were divided from the Pope and the Western Churches by the Acacian schism which had arisen from the challenge to Chalcedon presented by Zeno's Henoticon (see iii.18–21); the Henoticon had ignored the Tome of Leo (cf. n. 43 above), thereby insulting papal ambitions to provide doctrinal leadership for the whole Church. As is clear from the next chapter, Libya (i.e. Cyrenaica) followed the doctrinal lead of Egypt (for the close link, see Rufus, *Plerophories* 14).

The successive banishments at Constantinople and Antioch indicate Anastasius' opposition to Chalcedon and, contrary to Evagrius' assertion, his willingness to override local preferences; Theodore Lector (449) records that Anastasius accused Euphemius of plotting with the Isaurians after he had betrayed a confidential remark (cf. 455). In the capital the population was not in favour of Monophysite Christology: their views were clearly expressed during the usurpation of Basiliscus, and in 491 they had chanted for an orthodox emperor; once Anastasius was chosen, they urged him to rule like a new Marcian (*De Cer.* i.92, p. 425:3–4), rioted in favour of Euphemius (Theodore Lector 455), and violently opposed the Monophysite addition to the Trisaghion chant (iii.44). Euphemius and Macedonius were staunch Chalcedonians, whereas Flavian was one of those who accepted Zeno's Henoticon.

31 Now, when writing to Alcison concerning Macedonius and Flavian, the monastic community in Palestine spoke as follows, word for word:[97]

> After Peter was laid to rest, Alexandria and Egypt were again separated off by themselves since Athanasius, who took over after Peter, sent a document anathematizing the Synod in the synodical letters to the bishops of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem.[98] And since this was not accepted, from that time Alexandria and Egypt and Libya have continued by themselves, and the whole of the rest of the East by itself, while the West would not tolerate being in communion with them on any other terms except that both Peter Mongus and Acacius be added to the anathema on Nestorius, Eutyches and Dioscorus. And so, while the churches throughout the universe were in this state, the genuine followers of Dioscorus and Eutyches were everywhere reduced to a minute number. And when they were all but on the point of disappearing from the earth so that they did not exist, Xenaïas, who is truly a stranger to God[99] – with

For Euphemius' removal in 496, see iii.23 (p. 121:32) and n. 113 below; the depositions of Macedonius in 511 and Flavian in 512 are treated in the following chapters (iii.32–3).

97 Cf. iii.33 below for another extract from this letter, and ii.5 (p. 52) for a paraphrase. The letter, which was composed towards the end of Anastasius' reign (*c.* 515–16), is cited to provide a narrative of the main stages in the depositions of Flavian of Antioch and Macedonius of Constantinople, though in each case Evagrius also presents supplementary information. Zachariah of Mitylene's *History*, which had underpinned Evagrius' account of ecclesiastical events during the reigns of Leo and Zeno, terminated with the accession of Anastasius, so that Evagrius was now forced to construct his narrative from what information came to hand.

Alcison of Nicopolis was one of the leading Chalcedonian theologians of the early sixth century (cf. ii n. 80 above).

98 Cf. iii.23, p. 121:19–22, where only the letter to Antioch is mentioned.

99 There is a pun on the name of Xenaïas (Philoxenus of Mabbug) and *xenos*, 'stranger'. Philoxenus, a Syriac speaker from Persia, was one of the leading Monophysite writers who, with his contemporary Severus of Antioch, established a distinctive Monophysite theology. He had been appointed bishop of Mabbug (Hierapolis) by Peter the Fuller in 485, and thereafter managed to push much of the Patriarchate of Antioch to adopt a Monophysite position. See Honigmann, *Évêques* 66–8; Frend, *Rise* 214–17; and for his doctrinal position, Chesnut, *Christologies* part II.

Although there were relatively few people who accepted the extreme position of Eutyches, the Palestinian monks have overstated the decline in support for Dioscorus (witness the troubles of Peter Mongus at Alexandria) in order to exaggerate the impact of

what objective and in pursuit of what enmity towards Flavian we know not, but, as many relate, on pretext of the faith – began to agitate against him and to slander him as a Nestorian.[100] When that man had anathematized Nestorius along with his ideas, he switched again from him to Dioscorus,[101] and Theodore, and Theodoret, and Ibas, and Cyrus, and Eutherius, and John, and we know not who else or from where he collected them.[102] Whereas some of these in reality propagated the views of Nestorius, others, although suspected, anathematized him and **[128]** were laid to rest in the communion of the Church. He said: 'If you do not anathematize all these who held the opinions of Nestorius, you will share the views of Nestorius even though you anathematize him and his views ten thousand times.' By missives he also stirred up the followers of Dioscorus and supporters of Eutyches, persuading them to join him in opposition to Flavian, not however to demand an anathema of the Synod but only of the aforementioned individuals.

After Bishop Flavian had resisted these for some time and others had become involved with Xenaïas against him, Eleusinus, a bishop of Cappadocia Secunda, Nicias of Syrian Laodicaea,

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Philoxenus; for Monophysites, the deposition of Dioscorus was one of the key errors of Chalcedon.

100 Flavian had been chosen by the emperor as patriarch of Antioch in 498 because, though Chalcedonian by inclination, he accepted Zeno's Henoticon, and so was a suitable appointment for a see that embraced a wide variety of Christological views. For Philoxenus, the Henoticon was no more than a starting point on the road towards complete rejection of Chalcedon; his main challenge to Flavian began in 508.

101 Diodorus (of Tarsus) must be substituted for Dioscorus, who had been one of Nestorius' fiercest enemies. Diodorus was held responsible for the education of both Nestorius and Theodore (cf. i. n. 21 above).

102 Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa were all leading Antiochene theologians with doctrinal views similar to those of Diodorus and Nestorius; the orthodoxy of both Theodoret and Ibas had been upheld at Chalcedon (cf. ii. n. 69 above), though the trio constituted the basis for the Three Chapters controversy of Justinian's reign (see iv.38). Cyrus, Eutherius and John are otherwise unknown, but are also included in the comprehensive anathemas of Monophysite enemies in the introductory speech of Severus and the letter of Anthimus to Severus (Kugener, 'Allocution' 276–7; ps.-Zach. ix.21, p. 275, who adds Paul of Samosata, Photinus, Andrew, Alexander of Hierapolis, Irenaeus the twice-married and Barsauma the Persian).

and others from elsewhere[103] – it is for others, not us, to describe the causes of their niggardly attitude to Flavian – finally, thinking that he could pacify them with regard to these men, he yielded to their disputatious behaviour. And he anathematized the individuals in writing and dispatched it to the emperor; for indeed, they had aroused the emperor against him on the grounds that he represented the ideas of Nestorius.[104] Not even satisfied with this, Xenaïas demanded of Flavian a further anathema, of the Synod itself and of those who had spoken of the two natures in the Lord, the flesh and the divinity; and when Flavian did not concede, he again denounced him as a Nestorian. After much commotion over this, when the patriarch made an exposition of faith in which he acknowledged that he accepted the Synod as regards the deposition of Nestorius and Eutyches, but not as regards a definition and teaching of faith,[105] again they attacked him as one who surreptitiously shared the ideas of Nestorius, if he would not add also the anathema of the Synod itself and of those who had spoken of the two natures in the Lord, the flesh and the divinity. And they also seduced the Isaurians to their side with many deceitful arguments; **[129]** and when they had made a document of faith in which they anathematized the Synod together with those who had spoken of two natures or properties, they separated from Flavian and Macedonius, and allied with others who subscribed to the document.[106]

103 On Eleusinus, Bishop of Sasima, see Honigmann, *Évêques* 114–16 (Theophanes 149:28 notes his prominence as an opponent of Chalcedon), and on Nicias, *ibid.* 35–6. Philoxenus had significant support in his own province of Euphratesia, and on the occasion of the Synod of Sidon in 511 he also won over Symeon of Chalcis, Peter of Beroea, Marinus of Beirut and Thomas of Anasartha, in addition to Nicias (*ibid.* 13).

104 Cf. Theophanes 151:11–20 for Flavian's condemnation of individuals and ideas associated with Chalcedon, but not of the Council itself; Flavian also attempted to turn Anastasius against Philoxenus and Constantine of Seleucia for condemning the Council. Philoxenus had visited Constantinople in 507, which was presumably when he secured Anastasius' support for his subsequent attacks on Flavian.

105 Flavian's doctrinal position was now virtually identical with that of the Formula of Severus (see next note).

106 This probably refers to the Formula, or *Typos*, drafted by Severus in 510, perhaps in the hope that it would be promulgated by Anastasius as a new Henoticon: a version survives in Armenian, of which there is an English translation in Grillmeier, *Christ* II.1 275. While upholding Zeno's Henoticon, Severus' Formula condemned the Tome of Leo, the Chalce-

Meanwhile they also demanded from the bishop of Jerusalem a written statement of faith;[107] this he produced and dispatched it to the emperor by means of men who were followers of Dioscorus. They presented this, which contained an anathema of those who spoke of two natures. But the bishop of Jerusalem himself, asserting that it had been forged by them, presented another without such an anathema. And no wonder: for indeed they have forged many works of the Fathers, and many works of Apollinarius they have through their headings attributed to Athanasius and Gregory the Wonder-Worker and Julius.[108] By these means above all they attach many to their particular impieties. They also asked Macedonius for a written statement of faith. This he produced, affirming that he knew only the faith of the 318 and the 150, while anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches and those who hold the doctrine of two Sons or Christs or divide the natures, but he mentioned neither the Synod at Ephesus, which deposed Nestorius, nor that at Chalcedon, which deposed Eutyches. Vexed at this, the monasteries around Constantinople separated from Bishop Macedonius.[109] Meanwhile both Xenaïas and Dioscorus, after

donian expression 'in two natures' and the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus; the Council of Chalcedon was accepted only for its disciplinary measures, in particular the condemnations of Nestorius and Eutyches. The Formula was presented by Philoxenus to a Synod at Sidon in 511 (ps.-Zach. vii.10), but the Monophysites were in a minority and Philoxenos, with only nine fellow bishops, withdrew from communion with Flavian and Elias. Opinion in Isauria was divided (Rufus, *Plerophories* 21–3), though the metropolitans Constantine and Solon of Seleucia supported Severus (*Letters* i.1–4).

107 Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem 494–516.

108 Theodore Lector 473 (= Theophanes 151:27–31) records that Elias condemned Nestorius, Eutyches, Diodorus and Theodore, but upheld Chalcedon. The doctrines of Apollinarius, the fourth-century Christological heretic who espoused the full divinity of Christ, were regarded as an antecedent of Eutyches; he was in fact a friend of Athanasius, the great anti-Arian patriarch of Alexandria (328–73) and welcomed him on his return from exile in 346; Pope Julius (337–52) supported Athanasius during his various exiles; Gregory the Wonder-Worker was a third-century pupil of Origen, whose views he followed. For the prevalence of forgeries, cf. Allen, *Evagrius* 148 n. 20, 164 n. 105.

109 Bardy (in Fliche and Martin IV. 311) suggested that this statement of faith by Macedonius must have been forged by enemies, since his silence about both First Ephesus and Chalcedon was so extraordinary. Evagrius' report is similar to the story in Theodore Lector 487–8 (= Theophanes 154:25–155:5), where Anastasius is alleged to have deceived

> winning over many of the bishops, were irresistible in their moves against those who were not prepared to pronounce an anathema. As for those of them who did not in the end yield, they contrived by many devices that they be subjected to banishment. Thus in this manner they banished Macedonius and John, the bishop of Paltos, and Flavian.[110]

And so this was what the letter said. **[130]**

32 But there were other things indeed which made Anastasius smoulder away in secret. For when Ariadne wished to clothe Anastasius in the purple vestment, Euphemius, who directed the archiepiscopal seat, would not consent unless and until Anastasius had, by means of documents and dire oaths, given Euphemius a confession written in his own hand to the effect that, if he were to obtain the sceptres, he would keep the faith inviolate and would not introduce any innovation to the holy Church of God; this indeed he handed over to Macedonius, who was entrusted with the guardianship of the revered treasures.[111] He had effected this because Anastasius had in general a reputation for Manichaean belief.[112] Accordingly, when Macedonius

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Macedonius with a statement of faith that mentioned only the first two Councils; the patriarch, eager for compromise, accepted the statement, but then had to visit the monastery of Dalmatus to soothe the irate monks by making clear his support for Chalcedon. For the diverse Christological allegiance of monasteries at Constantinople and Macedonius' attempts to unify them, see Theophanes 141:19–142:5.

110 In spite of imperial favour, the Monophysites did not succeed in all their attempts, at least at first. Macedonius was deposed on 7 August 511 (see further iii.32), but the Synod at Sidon later that year was a brief reverse; Flavian, however, was deposed in the next year by a Synod held at Laodicaea in Isauria, and Elias only held on to his position until 516. Discussion of events in Grillmeier, *Christ* II.1 278–88. Little is known about John of Paltos: Honigmann, *Évêques* 30.

This Dioscorus is not otherwise known. Cyril of Scythopolis names Soterichus of Caesarea in Cappadocia as Philoxenus' ally.

111 I.e. *skeuophylax*. The detailed account of the accession in *De Cer.* i.92 refers to a public oath by Anastasius that he would not pursue grievances against those with whom he had previously had dealings (vol. i, p. 422:18–21); Euphemius probably demanded the doctrinal oath when he visited Ariadne on behalf of the senate, and discovered who was her choice of emperor.

112 Patriarch Macedonius was alleged to have used this accusation against the emperor (ps.-Zach. vii.7–8). Theodore Lector 448 (= Theophanes 136:13–16) records that Manichees

ascended to the priestly throne,[113] Anastasius wished to recover his personal confession, saying that the imperial rule would be insulted if the statement in his own hand were to remain in existence. And since Macedonius resisted this most resolutely and asserted that he would not betray the faith, the emperor concocted all types of plots against him in his desire to drive him from his seat. Accordingly, for example, boys were even brought forward as accusers and falsely alleged indecent acts between themselves and Macedonius. But when it was discovered that Macedonius had been deprived of his genitals, they proceeded to other devices, until on the advice of Celer, the commander of the regiments at court, Macedonius secretly withdrew from his own see.[114]

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and Arians were overjoyed at Anastasius' accession, since his mother was a Manichee and his uncle an Arian (Theodore also mentions several anti-Arian miracles during Anastasius' reign). Manichee was often a general term of religious abuse which might be applied to anyone whose Christological doctrines or ascetic practices met with disapproval; cf. Marc. Com. *s.a.* 519.

113 In 496, when his predecessor Euphemius was deposed after an investigation; he had been charged with heresy after attempting, with the help of Pope Felix, to depose Athanasius of Alexandria because of the latter's hostility to Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo (ps.-Zachariah vii.1).

114 Macedonius had opposed Philoxenus of Mabbug when the latter visited the capital in 507 to win support in his dispute with Flavian of Antioch, and he continued to resist Monophysite initiatives, including the addition of 'who was crucified for us' to the Trisaghion; Severus and Macedonius clashed on this issue in 511, and at a confrontation with Severus on 20 July Macedonius refused to permit the use of the Monophysite Trisaghion; on 6 August the patriarch was deposed by a local Synod. On 7 August the victorious Monophysites took over S. Sophia, and Macedonius was ordered into exile at Euchaïta. See Daley, 'Apollo' 34–41.

Ps.-Zachariah vii.7–8, and Theodore Lector 474–96 (cf. Theophanes 152:6–156:9) contain detailed accounts, respectively from Monophysite and Chalcedonian angles, of the carefully orchestrated campaign against Macedonius, which included accusations of treachery against the emperor as well as support for Nestorius. Macedonius clearly had a considerable following among local monks and at court (including the empress Ariadne), and his opponents had to move carefully: monasteries had their water supplies reduced, guards were placed at harbours and gates to prevent the monks from entering the city, and Anastasius gave a donative to the troops. In the hostile ps.-Zachariah, the *magister officiorum* Celer is presented as an associate of the patriarch, who was chosen to convey the order of exile as a humiliation; a more sympathetic explanation would see Celer as the man most likely to persuade the popular patriarch to leave quietly, or to provide a credible guarantee of safe conduct.

Evagrius' narrative of Anastasius' actions against Macedonius, which places more

Other matters are connected with the expulsion of Flavian, for we have encountered some extremely old people who have preserved in their memory all that happened in the case of Flavian.[115] They say that the man Xenaïas – Xenaïas, who is called Philoxenus in the Greek tongue, was prelate of the nearby Hierapolis – persuaded the monks of the so-called Cynegike **[131]** and all those who are located in the province of Syria Prima to burst into the city in a body, with commotion and utmost confusion, to force Flavian to anathematize the Synod at Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. While Flavian was protesting at this and the monks were pressing with great vehemence, the populace of the city rose up and effected a great slaughter of the monks; as a result many of them, indeed a countless number, were allotted the Orontes as their grave, their bodies being laid to rest by the waves.[116] And there also came about another incident not inferior to this. For the monks of Coele Syria (which is now called Secunda) were sympathetic to Flavian since he had practised the monastic life in a certain monastery situated in the countryside (its name was Tilmognon),[117] and they came to the city of Antiochus, wishing to defend Flavian; and so then too events of no small significance took place. And so, either as a result of the former, or of the

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responsibility on the emperor himself than does ps.-Zachariah's version, is scarcely consistent with the earlier praise for Anastasius' eirenic behaviour in doctrinal matters.

115 Flavian was deposed in 512, so that it would have been possible for Evagrius, when collecting information for his work in the late-580s, to have encountered some witnesses of the violent events.

116 The populace of Antioch, as in all major cities, had a reputation for violence: in 507 victory celebrations of the Green Faction had included the destruction of a synagogue, and resulted in the disembowelling of the *praefectus vigilum* (Malalas 395:20–398:4); during Zeno's reign a local monk had incited the mob to attack the Jews and dig up their bones (Malalas, *Exc. de Insid.* fr. 35), and there had also been riots in 494/5: see Downey, *Antioch* 504–7.

Patriarch Flavian, as one of the major patrons in the city, could command a considerable popular following, whereas Monophysite support was strongest in monasteries somewhat removed from the patriarchal seat. Syria Prima covered the northern and eastern parts of the diocese, while the Cynegike was an area to the south-west of Chalcis.

117 Second Syria, the region centred on the Orontes valley to the south of Antioch, already had a reputation for being anti-Monophysite, and the bishop of Apamea had appealed to Pope Felix in the context of discussions about Zeno's Henoticon (Felix, *Ep.* 6 [Thiel]; = *Coll. Veron.* 5 [Schwartz, *Sammlungen* p. 6:6–7]). The location of Flavian's monastery is unknown.

latter, or indeed of both, Flavian was expelled and condemned to live in Petra, which lies on the borders of Palestine.[118]

33 Accordingly, when Flavian had been expelled, Severus ascended to the priestly see of the city of Antiochus, when the city was reckoning its 561st year, in the month Dios, in the sixth indiction of the current cycle, whereas at the time of this composition it was reckoning its 641st year.[119] As his native land he had been allotted the city of the Sozopolitans, which is in the province of the Pisidians, and had previously engaged in the study of law at Beirut. But immediately after his training in the laws he received holy baptism in the sacred sanctuary of Leontius, the venerable martyr, who is honoured at Tripolis in coastal Phoenicia, and transferred to the monastic life in a certain monastery which lies midway between the city of Gaza and **[132]** the town known as Maiuma. There too Peter the Iberian, who was the prelate of the said Gaza and had fled together with Timothy Aelurus, went through the same trials and has left behind for himself a great reputation. And Severus grappled in debate with Nephalius, who had formerly been of the same party as him with regard to the one nature, but who later became one of the Synod at Chalcedon and of those who advocate two natures in our Lord Jesus Christ. He was driven out of his own monastery by the said Nephalius and his supporters, along with numerous others who held opinions similar to his own. From there he went up to the emperor's city to plead on his own behalf and of those who had been driven out together with him; and he became an acquaintance of the emperor Anastasius, as these matters are described by the author of the *Life* of Severus.[120] Accordingly, when writing syno-

118 Although Philoxenus had failed to have Flavian condemned at the Synod at Sidon in 511 (cf. nn. 102, 105 above), he travelled to Constantinople to secure Anastasius' support for his removal (ps.-Zach. vii.10–11); ps.-Zachariah admits that there was some violence in Antioch. Bishops were expected to contribute to the maintenance of law and order within their cities, so that a serious outbreak of religious rioting (hinted at in 'events of no small significance') could be exploited as grounds for dismissal. For Petra as a place of exile, cf. i. n.58 above.

119 On 6 November 512; Evagrius was composing the chapter 80 years later, in 592/3.

120 Most of our information on Severus' early life comes from the two *Lives*, both originally written in Greek but now preserved only in Syriac, by his friend and fellow student, Zachariah *scholasticus*, and by John, the abbot of Beth Aphthonia. Severus came from a prosperous Pisidian family; his grandfather attended First Ephesus as bishop of Sozopolis, and had been among those to condemn Nestorius. Severus himself, born in the mid-460s, studied in Alexandria before moving to the law school at Beirut in about 486; his fellow

dical letters, Severus expressly anathematized the Synod at Chalcedon;[121] concerning this the missives to Alcison state the following words:[122]

> Whereas the synodicals of Timothy, who is now bishop of Constantinople, were accepted here in Palestine, the deposition of Macedonius and Flavian was not accepted; nor too were the synodicals of Severus. On the contrary, indeed, those who conveyed them here fled the city, justifiably disgraced and insulted, since the people and the monks were roused against them.[123] This is the situation in Palestine; but of the subordinates of Antioch, some

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students included both crypto-pagans and Christian enthusiasts, and Severus appears to have been relatively uncommitted, to the extent that Zachariah had to defend him against accusations of pagan sympathies. Peter the Iberian, who visited Beirut in 488, was influential in persuading Severus to become an active Christian; after baptism at Tripolis and a spell in the monastery of Romanus near Eleutheropolis, Severus was ordained as a presbyter in Peter's monastery at Maiuma and then founded his own community nearby.

In 482 Nephalius (cf. iii.22 with n. 73 above) had been spokesman for the strict Monophysite opponents of Peter Mongus in Egypt, which would have placed him in the same doctrinal camp as Severus. In 507, however, Nephalius was in Palestine, where he issued a defence of Chalcedon, which he interpreted in terms of the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria (the process known as neo-Chalcedonianism); he was now attached to Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem, who used him to pressurize the surviving Monophysite monasteries in Palestine into accepting Chalcedon. Severus responded to Nephalius' doctrinal arguments in a work, *Ad Nephalium*, which only partly survives but permits the reconstruction of the outlines of Nephalius' lost treatise and his doctrinal position (Moeller, 'Représentant' 106–36). Severus then travelled to Constantinople, where his highly intelligent and articulate presentation of the Monophysite case attracted the emperor's attention.

For the development of Severus' theology, see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 1–175; Chesnut, *Christologies*.

121 Severus himself (*Letters of Severus* 46 [*PO* 12, p. 321]) states that his synodical to Timothy of Constantinople anathematized what was done at Chalcedon and the Jewish Tome of Leo (cf. *Letters of Severus* 49 [*PO* 12, p. 324], to Dioscorus of Alexandria, where the Henoticon is described as insufficient). At his consecration he had delivered a speech condemning the Council: Kugener, 'Allocution'.

122 Other extracts from what clearly was a very long letter from the monks of Palestine to the bishop of Nicopolis are included at iii.31, and alluded to at ii.5.

123 Although Macedonius had been deposed as patriarch of Constantinople partly because of his refusal to condemn Chalcedon, his successor Timothy (511–18) held similar views. In Palestine, Elias of Jerusalem also resisted the Monophysites, with the strong support of local monks: when his successor John appeared to be contemplating an anathema on Chalcedon, the monastic leaders Sabas and Theodosius brought the new patriarch before a noisy demonstration in favour of the Council (*Life* of Sabas 56; Peeters, 'Hypatius' 8–24; Greatrex, 'Hypatius' 123).

were carried away by the arguments and brought under control, of whom one is Marinus, the bishop of Beirut,[124] but others consented under force and compulsion to the synodicals of Severus, which contained an anathema both of the Synod and of the others who had spoken of two natures or characters in the Lord, the flesh and the divinity; others, after consenting under compulsion, repented and retracted, among whom are those dependent on Apamea; others completely refused to consent, among whom are Julian of Bostra, and Epiphanius of Tyre, **[133]** and some other bishops, it is said.[125] But the Isaurians, who have now come to their senses, condemn themselves for the previous deception while they anathematize Severus and his party.[126] Others, however, of the bishops and clergy under Severus have left their churches and fled; among these both Julian of Bostra and Peter of Damascus are living here,[127] as too is Mamas, one of the two who appeared to be leaders of the Dioscorians, by whom indeed Severus was restored; he has condemned their arrogance.[128]

124 Marinus signed the declaration of faith that Severus made at his enthronement: Kugener 'Allocution' 277–8.

125 Severus attempted to rally support for his strict doctrinal stance in a series of councils, of which the most important was held at Tyre in 514, where affirmations of loyalty could be obtained; the patriarch of Antioch also had considerable powers of patronage (e.g. Severus, *Letters* i.22), and could manipulate his financial power and disciplinary authority to obtain agreement. Some areas, such as Second Syria, the province dependent on Apamea (see Honigmann, *Évêques* 54–65; Peeters, 'Hypatius' 26–7), and individuals such as Epiphanius of Tyre, the brother of the deposed Flavian, remained adamantly hostile: see Severus, *Letters* i.24, 30, for disagreements and tension in Second Syria, and *Letters of Severus* 51 (*PO* 12, p. 326) on the impossibility of receiving Epiphanius back into communion, even if he were to repent.

126 Isauria was an area where Severus had some support (cf. the earlier quotation from the letter to Alcison at iii.31, with n. 106 above; Rufus, *Plerophories* 21–3, provides evidence for Monophysites in the region); Severus also made a particular attempt to tighten up on disciplinary matters and increase patriarchal control there, developments which might have persuaded the local clergy to reject his doctrinal preferences.

127 In 517 a large group of anti-Severan monks gathered at the monastery of Maro, south of Damascus, and appealed to Pope Hormisdas against their patriarch; this would indicate that the local bishops, even though in exile, had strong support.

128 Mamas was the archimandrite of the anti-Chalcedonian monks at Eleutheropolis, where Severus had begun his monastic career, and he accompanied Severus to Constantinople in 508 to protest against the actions of Nephalius. But he had then come under the influence of Sabas, who brought him to Jerusalem and reconciled him with Patriarch Elias; as a

And further on: ‘The monasteries here and Jerusalem itself are, through God, in accord concerning the correct faith, as are very many other cities with their bishops. For all these and ourselves, pray that we may not enter into temptation, our most holy master and most honoured father.’

34 Now since these missives say that the priests under Apamea distanced themselves from Severus,[129] come, let us add something which has been transmitted to us through our family, although before now indeed it had not been treated by history. Cosmas, Bishop of my own Epiphania, which has Orontes as its companion, and Severianus, Bishop of nearby Arethusa,[130] were distressed at the synodical letters of Severus, severed themselves from communion with him, and sent a document of deposition to him while he was still bishop of the city of Antiochus. They entrusted the document to Aurelian, first deacon of Epiphania. Since he feared Severus and the grandeur of such a great bishopric, on reaching the city of Antiochus he approached Severus after dressing himself in female clothing, acting coyly and primly, and in all respects pretending to be a woman. He let the veil on his head hang as far as his chest and, wailing and groaning deep down inside, under the pretence of making a supplication he handed over the deposition to Severus as he proceeded. And unnoticed by all he left the crowd of followers, and purchased safety by flight, **[134]** before Severus realized what were the contents of the document.[131] Still Severus, upon receiving

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result Mamas accepted Chalcedon, and persuaded many others to follow his example (*Life* of Sabas 55).

129 Although Second Syria was resolutely anti-Monophysite (cf. n. 117 above), the metropolitan see of Apamea was currently occupied by Peter, who shared Severus’ views (*Letters* i.5). He had probably been chosen in the election referred to by Severus, *Letters* i.39, where the candidates must be orthodox, i.e. hold firmly to communion with Severus himself.

130 Epiphania, the modern city of Hama; Arethusa, modern Restan, a short distance upstream. On Cosmas, see Peeters, ‘Hypatius’ 36–9. These events should belong to the last two or three years of Anastasius’ reign.

131 Documents of deposition, like tribunician vetos in Republican Rome, had to be presented in person, and so might well endanger their bearer; cf. nn. 59, 67 above for the difficulties which Pope Felix’s envoys had in delivering messages to Acacius.

the document and understanding what was in it, clung firmly to his throne until the death of Anastasius.

So when Anastasius discovered what had happened in the case of Severus (for one must record that the affair was handled with mercy by Anastasius), he instructed Asiaticus, who had been entrusted with the military command of Phoenicia Libanensis, to drive Cosmas and Severianus from their own sees, because they had sent the document of deposition to Severus.[132] After Asiaticus reached the Eastern regions and found that many adhered to the doctrines of Cosmas and Severianus, and that their cities upheld them most resolutely, he reported to Anastasius that he could not banish these men from their sees without bloodshed. Accordingly, there was such an abundance of mercy in Anastasius that he explicitly wrote to Asiaticus that he wished nothing to go ahead, not even if it was a major and important matter, if even a drop of blood were to be spilt.[133] Such then was the state of affairs in the churches everywhere in the world down to the reign of Anastasius. There were some who removed him from the holy diptychs on the grounds that he was an opponent of the Synod at Chalcedon; at Jerusalem he was anathematized even during his lifetime.[134]

35 It would not be out of place if, in accordance with the promise which I set down at the outset, I also attach to the narrative the other noteworthy events which occurred during the time of Anastasius.[135] After Zeno's

132 It is not clear why Asiaticus (*PLRE* II. 164; nothing else known) was chosen for this action outside his own province, but it may simply have been that he controlled the necessary troops.

133 This incident, of which Evagrius was informed by family tradition, is undoubtedly the basis for Evagrius' very favourable assessment of Anastasius as a tolerant controller of ecclesiastical affairs (to say that it substantiates Evagrius' view, as Allen, *Evagrius* 154, is circular). An alternative explanation for Anastasius' decision would be his realization of the strength of support for Chalcedon.

It is possible that Severus and his partisans had already begun to take revenge: Peeters, 'Hypatius' 27–34 suggests that they must have been involved in planning the massacre at Larissa of 350 orthodox monks who were travelling to a meeting to oppose the Monophysites. Anastasius reacted to this by demanding an end to bloodshed.

134 There is no confirmation for this anathema in the *Lives* of Sabas or Theodosius; the monks came close, though, when they anathematized 'Severus and those who communicated with him' (*Life* of Sabas 56, p. 149:4), since it was obvious that Anastasius was a supporter of, and in communication with, Severus.

135 A reference back to the preface, pp. 5:14–6:3. As in Books i and ii, and in his treatment of Zeno's reign, Evagrius separated ecclesiastical and secular narratives into discrete

brother Longinus had reached his native land, as I have previously described, he openly embarked on war against the emperor. After many forces had been gathered from all sides, among whom there was Conon – although he was bishop at Apamea in the province of Syria, as an Isaurian he joined in the campaign with the Isaurians – a conclusion **[135]** was made to the war: the Isaurians fighting with Longinus were comprehensively destroyed, while the heads of Longinus and Theodore were sent to the emperor's city by John the Scythian. The emperor fixed these on poles and set them up at the place called Sycae, which lies opposite the city of Constantine, a pleasing sight for the Byzantines in return for the troubles they had suffered from Zeno and the Isaurians. And the other Longinus, who was a powerful force in the usurpation, the one surnamed the Selinuntian, and Indes with him, were sent alive to Anastasius by John, surnamed the Hunchback. This particularly pleased both the emperor and the Byzantines, since in the manner of a triumph Longinus and Indes were paraded along the city's highways and into the Hippodrome, with chains made of iron placed around their necks and hands.[136] Thereafter too what had formerly been called the Isaurica was contributed to the imperial treasuries: this indeed was the gold which

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blocks, which obviated the problems of combining different sources into a single account but left the overall narrative very disjointed (see Allen, *Evagrius* 143 for criticisms of Evagrius' practice).

136 This picks up the (erroneous) reference to Longinus in iii.29 (cf. n. 93 above). Longinus of Cardala (*PLRE* II. 688, *s. v.* Longinus 3), the former *magister officiorum*, was a leader of the Isaurian revolt against Anastasius in 492, but the large army, 15,000 strong, that he gathered with the help of money stored in Isauria by the emperor Zeno, was defeated at Cotyaeum (Kutahya) in Phrygia in the same year; Conon, the former bishop of Apamea, was killed in a second battle in the following year (*PLRE* II. 306–7, *s. v.* Conon 4); Longinus and Theodore (*PLRE* II. 1092, *s. v.* Theodorus 34; probably to be equated with Athenodorus 2) were only captured in 497 after which they were executed. The revolt was ended by the capture of Longinus of Selinus (*PLRE* II. 688, *s. v.* Longinus 4) and Indes (*PLRE* II. 591) in 498; this Longinus was, after torture, executed at Nicaea. Though Malalas, 393:12–394:7, had a clear and reasonably full account of events, Evagrius has preferred to follow a different source.

Sycae was a regular place for executions and the dumping, or display, of the bodies of criminals (e.g. *Chron. Pasch.* 565:2–3; and cf. iv n. 116 below).

The imperial commanders, John the Scythian (*PLRE* II. 602–3, *s. v.* Ioannes 34) and John Kurtos / Gibbus (the Hunchback: *PLRE* II. 617–18, *s. v.* Ioannes 93) were rewarded with the consulship for 498 and 499 respectively.

had been furnished each year to the barbarians, a weight of 5,000 pounds.[137]

36 The Scenite Arabs also, though not to their own profit, made a raid against the Roman realm and ravaged the property of Mesopotamia and both Phoenicias and the Palestines. After suffering harshly at the hands of those in command in each place, they subsequently kept the peace, after collectively making agreements with the Romans.[138]

37 But when the Persians under king Cabades broke the treaty and set out from their own territories, they first invaded Armenia and, after capturing a town called Theodosiopolis, they approached Amida, a strong city in Mesopotamia, and captured it by siege. This in turn the Roman emperor **[136]** restored with considerable exertions.[139] If there is anyone who wishes to have detailed knowledge

137 This is our only evidence for the size of the annual peace payment to the Isaurians, which was substantially larger than those paid to tribal groups in the Balkans, even at the height of the power of the Huns or Avars; the saving to the imperial treasury was significant, and will have contributed to the large reserve that Anastasius was able to accummulate during his reign (320,000 pounds of gold according to Procopius, *Secret History* 19.7).

138 Theophanes (141:1–17) has a longer account of the defeat of three separate Arab attacks, probably in 498 (for discussion, see Shahid, *Fifth Century* 121–31): an invasion of the provinces of Euphratesia and First Syria was defeated at Resafa, an uprising by the Ghassanids in Third Palestine was crushed by the local *dux* Romanus, who also recaptured the island of Iotabe at the mouth of the Gulf of Eilat, and an attack by the Kindites of South Arabia was repulsed. These Arab incursions did not affect Phoenicia, though Theophanes' notice of the subsequent peace states that Palestine, Arabia and Phoenicia now enjoyed tranquillity (144:3–6); Evagrius may be conflating them with an earlier raid, mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis (*Life* of Abramius 1, p. 244:1–4), which reached Emesa in 491/2.

Shahid, *Sixth Century* 3–12, combining this passage (which he optimistically treats as equivalent to the lost testimony of the contemporary Eustathius) with Theophanes, 144:3–6, claims that Anastasius now made a formal *foedus* with the Ghassanid and Kindite Arabs which specified their respective obligations; this imposes a very precise interpretation on what are general allusions to agreements. See also Blockley, *Policy* 87; Elizabeth Fowden, *Plain* 61–4.

139 Kavadh had demanded money from the Romans in 491/2, and again after he had been restored to the throne by the Hephthalites in 498, but was unsuccessful on each occasion. The invasion began in August 502, and Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) quickly fell, but Amida withstood a fierce siege: the best account is ps.-Zachariah vii.3–4; cf. also Joshua the Stylite chs. 50–100, and Procopius, *Wars* i.7–9 (whose account may reflect that of Eustathius). A lapse of attention by some defenders allowed the Persians to capture the city on 11 January 503. Thereafter the Romans organized their forces and began to redress the

concerning these matters and to follow through everything precisely, this has been recorded and narrated most learnedly by Eustathius with great exertion and the utmost elegance: after making a record down to this report he was numbered among the departed, having died in the twelfth year of Anastasius' reign.[140]

Now, after this war Anastasius established Dara, a place in Mesopotamia situated at the extremity of the Roman realm which is a boundary-marker, as it were, for the two states; he turned this from a field into a city, fortifying it with a strong circuit wall and bestowing on it various remarkable constructions – not only churches and other sacred buildings, but colonnades and public baths and other things with which distinguished cities are adorned.[141] It is said by some that the place Dara obtained its appellation from the fact that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, comprehensively defeated Darius here.[142]

38 And one very great and memorable work was completed by the same emperor, the so-called Long Wall, which is well positioned in Thrace. This is about 280 stades distant from Constantinople, and links the two

balance, although Amida had to be repurchased in 505 after a long siege failed to dislodge the Persian garrison. Ps.-Zachariah vii.5 and Joshua 83 refer to the reconstruction of the defences and benefactions to the local church: see further Stein, *Bas-Empire* II. 99, and for a succinct survey of the war, Blockley, *Policy* 89–93.

140 Malalas too records the death of the most learned chronicler Eustathius after recording the campaign of 503 but before he could complete his account of the war (399:3–4); it is most economical to postulate that Evagrius was influenced by the shape of Malalas' narrative at this point (Persian war, death of Eustathius, foundation of Dara), even though not all the information in Evagrius is preserved in the abridged extant version of Malalas.

141 Dara was established as a military base close to the frontier to avoid the logistical problems which had hampered Roman operations in the current war; it was sited roughly half-way between the nearest Roman fort at Mardin and the Persian frontier city of Nisibis; the actual frontier was about five kilometres to the south-east. Construction at Dara began in 505, but work probably slowed after the end of hostilities with Persia in 507. There are important accounts of the fortress in ps.-Zachariah vii.6; Procopius, *Buildings* ii.1–3; Joshua the Stylite ch. 90. There are modern discussions of the ancient sources and the surviving ruins by Croke and Crow, 'Dara'; Whitby, 'Dara'.

142 The etymology, which is also recorded by Malalas (399:13–20), is fabulous, since in 331 BC Alexander defeated Darius III at Gaugamela, near Arbela (Erbil) in modern Iraq; *Chron. Pasch.* 609:4–7 has a rather more complex etymology, attributing the place name to the fact that Alexander struck the Persian king with a spear (*dorati*).

seas over a distance of 420 stades in the manner of a channel. It made the city almost an island instead of a peninsula, and for those who wish provides a very safe transit from the so-called Pontus to the Propontis and the Thracian sea, while checking the barbarians who rush forth from the so-called Euxine Sea, and from the Colchians and the Maiotic lake, and from the regions beyond the Caucasus, and those who have poured forth over Europe.[143]

39 An exceedingly great and wonderful achievement was accomplished by the same man, the complete abolition of the so-called Chrysargyron;[144] **[137]** this must also be told, although it requires the eloquence of Thucydides or indeed one greater and more elegant. But even I shall tell of it, not trusting in word, but confident in the deed. There was imposed on this great and ancient state of the Romans a miserable tax hateful to God and unworthy of even barbarians, let alone indeed of the most Christian Roman empire. Although overlooked before him (for what reason I cannot say), this man abolished it in a manner most worthy of an emperor. It was imposed both on many others who

143 The Long Walls of Constantinople are situated about 65 kilometres to the west of the city (about 325 stades), and originally extended for 45 kilometres (225 stades) from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea. The Walls had most probably been constructed towards the end of Theodosius II's reign, in response to the Hunnic incursions, but had subsequently been severely damaged in an earthquake and now required extensive repairs if they were to prevent the Bulgars from approaching Constantinople (Whitby, 'Walls'). It was not uncommon for emperors to claim, or be accorded, full credit for constructions which they merely repaired: thus Septimius Severus, who was responsible for some rebuilding on Hadrian's Wall, was given credit for one of the North British walls in various sources, e.g. Eutropius viii.19.1; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Severus 18.2.

The effectiveness of the Constantinopolitan Walls depended upon the strength and capabilities of their defenders, who were not always sufficiently numerous to prevent invaders from overrunning the barrier; they were relevant to sea traffic between the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea, since boats tended to hug the shore as they sailed up against the stiff current and might even need to be towed at some points. The substantial remains are currently the subject of investigation: see Crow, 'Long Walls' (though he consistently presumes that the walls are Anastasian). Allen, *Evagrius* 143, identified this as an eye-witness account, but there is insufficient detail to prove the assertion.

144 In 498. *Cod. Iust.* xi.1. This move coincided with celebration of victory over the Isaurians (Malalas 394:5–7 notes the gifts to taxpayers), which saved the empire 5,000 pounds of gold per year in peace payments (cf. iii.35 with n. 136); a plausible guess for the annual yield of the tax is 1,400 pounds of gold (Bagnall, *Egypt* 154), so the remission was more than covered by the Isaurian saving. There had been serious riots in Antioch in 494/5 (Malalas 392:12–393:8), which might also be relevant to Anastasius' decision.

procured their living through providing services,[145] including prostitutes who promiscuously purvey their bodily charms in attachment to brothels in the hidden and unseen parts of the city, and what is more, indeed, on catamites who outrage not only nature but also the state: thus the income, instead of some law, cries out that such wickedness exists with impunity for those who wish. Every fourth year those who collected this in each place paid the unholy and accursed revenue gathered from this to the first and highest of the officials, so that it constituted not the least part of the office and had its own *scrinia*, as they are called, and those who assessed such matters, not obscure men but ones who considered the matter an official duty just indeed like the others.[146]

When Anastasius learnt this, he placed it before the senate and, rightly declaring the matter to be a defilement and a new-fangled pollution, decreed that it should be abolished once and for all, and consigned to the flames the papers which explained the collection. And in his desire to consecrate the matter to God completely, lest it might be

145 The translation is in line with that in BEL 377. Festugière (349) translated rather differently: 'This had been allowed to pass unnoticed – since when I cannot say ... It weighed on a great number of those who live grouped into associations with communal expenses.' Festugière interpreted this as an allusion to the guilds into which traders and artisans were collected, but his version departs considerably from the Greek. Festugière does not fully translate τὴν τροφὴν πορίζουσι 'procured their living', and, although ἔρανος is a technical term for a group whose members might provide mutual financial support, it would be odd to describe people as obtaining their living ἐξ ἐράνου, from such a group; ἔρανος is also used to denote transactions which produced financial gain, and I have preferred this more general sense.

146 The Chrysargyron, or *collatio lustralis*, was introduced by Constantine as a levy of gold and silver (hence its Greek name) on the property of merchants, artisans and the professions; it was originally levied every five years, being connected with the financing of imperial donatives, but at some point in the fifth century this increased to every four years (Evagrius is supported by Zosimus, ii.38.2, Joshua the Stylite ch. 31, and *Cod. Iust.* xi.1.1); in practice it may have been collected by indiction year, in monthly instalments (Bagnall, *Egypt* 154). The tax was collected city by city, with those eligible to pay being recorded on a register and choosing from their own number the individuals responsible for the actual collection; the monies were paid into the *sacrae largitiones*, where there may well have been a separate unit (*scrinium*) devoted to its administration. See Jones, *LRE* 433–4, 871–2; also Hendy, *Studies* 175–8.

Joshua records that at Edessa, which used to pay 140 pounds of gold every four years, the news of the tax remission was greeted with a week of popular festivities. Anastasius made good the loss of income to the *sacrae largitiones* by allocating to a special fund specific estates which generated the same revenue (though compensation did not halt the long-term decline in the powers and prestige of this bureau, on which see Delmaire, 'Déclin').

possible for any of his successors to revive again the old disgraces, he pretended to be annoyed and accused himself of thoughtlessness and the utmost folly: he said that by giving preference to innovation he had disregarded what was beneficial to the state, and had heedlessly and inconsiderately suspended such a great revenue, one which had been devised long before and been ratified by such long passage of time, **[138]** without taking into account the imminent dangers or the military expenses, the living wall of the state, nor the expenses relating to the worship of God. And without displaying any of his inner thoughts he announced that he wished the aforesaid tax to be restored.[147] Then, after summoning those who had been in charge, he claimed that he repented but he did not have any idea what to do or how he might correct his own mistake, since the papers which were able to explain the collection had been burnt once and for all. And when they bewailed the action, without any pretence but genuinely on account of the illegal profit which accrued to them from it,[148] and professed to be at a similar loss, he encouraged and urged them to make every investigation and search out if they could discover the collection in its entirety from the records that were gathered in each particular place. And after providing expenses for each man for assembling these he sent them out with instructions that every paper which could illuminate this, wherever it might be found, should be conveyed to him so that the material relating to this might again be compiled with the most careful consideration and the utmost precision.[149]

And so when after a time those who were attending to this came back, Anastasius appeared to be a happy person and gladdened with delight; but he was genuinely pleased because he had achieved his objective, and he enquired about the process, how they had been found, and with

147 Although piety may have played some part in Anastasius' motives, or at least in his presentation of these, this reform must be seen in the wider context of Anastasius' overhaul of taxation and currency reforms, of which the first stage, involving the copper coinage, was introduced in 498. Anastasius appears to have been keen to remove obstacles, such as the tax on commerce and a shortage of lower value coins, which were hindering the development of flourishing market conditions.

148 Undoubtedly officials from the *sacrae largitiones* would have regretted the loss of an important source of revenue.

149 Anastasius had first burnt the central records in the office of the *sacrae largitiones*, and then proceeded to assemble the various records of payers and amounts maintained in each city (see n. 146 above). For his thoroughness in destroying the records, cf. also Procopius of Gaza, *Panegyric* 13, and Priscian, *Laude Anastasii* 164–6.

whom, and if there was anything of similar sort left. When they asserted that they had expended great efforts in collecting these things, and swore by the emperor that there was no paper capable of explaining these matters deposited throughout the whole state, he again kindled a great bonfire from the papers which had been brought, and deluged the ashes with water, wishing to obliterate the exaction utterly, so that there might be seen neither dust nor ashes nor indeed any **[139]** trace of the business from what had been partially burnt. But, while so greatly elevating the abolition of the exaction, so that we might not appear to be in any way ignorant of all that has been narrated in partisan spirit about it by earlier writers, come now, let me set these out also and show their falsehood, and particularly through what they themselves have recorded.

40 It is said by Zosimus, one of those from the accursed and foul worship of the Hellenes, in his anger against Constantine because he was first of the emperors to adopt Christian practices and abandon the loathsome superstition of the Hellenes, that he first devised the so-called Chrysargyron, and instituted that the said tribute be levied every fourth year;[150] and in countless other ways he blasphemed the pious and generous Constantine. For he says that Constantine also devised many other quite intolerable measures against every class,[151] and that he miserably eliminated his son Crispus, and that he removed from among men his wife Fausta by confining her in a bath house which had been heated to excess,[152] and that after seeking purification from his own priests for

150 Zosimus (ii.38.2) was correct in attributing the tax to Constantine (cf. n. 146 above), who introduced it in the provinces under his control in the period 312–20. Zosimus, probably following or elaborating on Eunapius, claimed that the tax was designed to produce revenue for gifts to worthless individuals, and that it forced mothers to sell their sons into slavery and fathers to prostitute their daughters, but the new measure was probably part of a coherent attempt to transfer some of the burden of taxation from the countryside to the towns. Discussion by Paschoud, notes to Zosimus ii.38 (*Zosime* vol. I. pp. 241–4).

151 This probably refers to the *collatio glebalis*, or *follis*, a tax on senatorial property, which the emperor Marcian abolished; another measure that had a marginal effect on senatorial wealth was the requirement that all praetors should finance games during their year of office, or contribute a sum of money in lieu (Zosimus ii.38.3–4).

152 Again, Zosimus' accusations (ii.29.2) are accurate, though the deaths had no connection with Constantine's conversion: in 326 Crispus was sentenced by Constantine to death on accusations promoted by his stepmother, the empress Fausta; Fausta's role was soon revealed, probably by Constantine's mother Helena, and she was killed, or forced into suicide, later in the same year (Philostorgius ii.4). Sozomen, i.5, had already presented a refutation of these accusations. Discussion in Paschoud, 'Version'; *Zosime* I. pp. 219–24.

such abominable murders but not obtaining it – for it was not even possible to speak them in public – he encountered an Egyptian who had arrived from Iberia. And on being assured by him that the Christian faith was able to wipe out all sin, he partook of what the Egyptian shared with him;[153] abandoning thereafter his ancestral belief, he made the start of his impiety, as Zosimus says. And I will reveal forthwith how these things are indeed untrue, but first something will be said about the Chrysargyron.

41 You say, you wicked and deceitful demon, that when he wished to raise in opposition a city that was equal to Rome he first embarked on preparations for so great a city in between Troas and Ilium, establishing foundations and raising a wall to some height, but when he found that Byzantium was a more suitable site he so encircled it with walls, so expanded the previous city, and glorified it with such beautiful constructions that it was not far short of Rome, which had gradually received its growth over so many years. **[140]** You state that he also allocated to the Byzantine people a public grain ration, and that to those who came to Byzantium with him he granted an enormous quantity of gold for the construction of private houses.[154]

Again, you write in these words that, following Constantine's death, government passed to Constantius, his only son after the death of his two brothers, and how in the twin usurpation of Magnentius and Vetranio, he won Vetranio round by persuasion: once both the armies had assembled, Constantius first addressed the soldiers and reminded them of the generosity of his father, with whom they had toiled in many campaigns and by whom they had been rewarded with very large gifts; and when the soldiers heard this they stripped Vetranio of his robes and took him down from the platform as a private individual, and he experi-

153 Zosimus ii.29.3–4; cf. also Julian, *Caesars* 38, 336a-b (II. 413, Wright). The Egyptian from Iberia alludes to Ossius (Hosius), Bishop of Cordoba, who was the most influential ecclesiastical adviser to Constantine for much of his reign: see Paschoud, *Zosime* I. 221–2. Although Ossius did visit Alexandria in 324 as part of the negotiations which led up to the Council of Nicaea, he is not otherwise known to have had Egyptian connections and the label is intended to imply that he was a charlatan. Festugière (352) wrongly interprets 'Egyptian' as a proper name, Aegyptius.

154 Zosimus ii.30–2. The assertion that Constantine financed major constructions near the ancient site of Troy is also noted by Sozomen (ii.3.1–3) and Zonaras (xiii.3.1), but questioned by Paschoud (notes to Zosimus ii.30: *Zosime* I. pp. 225–6). For the bread ration and other incentives for people to settle in the new capital, see Dagron, *Naissance* 530–41.

enced nothing unpleasant from Constantius, though the latter, along with his father, has been slandered by you so greatly.[155]

How then you can reckon that the same man was so generous, so munificent, and yet so pusillanimous and parsimonious as to impose such an accursed tax, I am utterly at a loss.[156] But as for the fact that he did not slay Fausta or Crispus, and that he did not for that reason participate in our mysteries through some Egyptian, hearken to the history of Eusebius son of Pamphilus, who was a contemporary of Constantine and Crispus and was an associate of theirs. For you are not even writing what you heard – quite apart from it not being the truth – but you were very much later in time under Arcadius and Honorius, up to whom your narrative goes, or even after them. In the eighth book of that man's *Ecclesiastical History* he writes the following, word for word:[157]

> When no very great time had intervened, the emperor Constantius, who had conducted his whole life in a manner most mild and most benevolent to his subjects, **[141]** and most well-disposed to the divine Word, leaving behind in his place his true-born son Constantine as emperor and Augustus, ended his life by the common law of nature.

And further on:

> This man's son Constantine, right from the very moment when he had been proclaimed by the troops supreme emperor and Augus-

155 Zosimus ii.43–4. Following Constantine's death in 337, his three sons by Fausta had divided the empire between them: Constantine II was killed in 340, and in 350 Constans was overthrown and killed by the usurper Magnentius; Evagrius does not attempt to rebut Zosimus' criticism (ii.39–42) of these dynastic disturbances. In 350 Constantius was distracted by war against the Persians, and his sister Constantina proclaimed the elderly general Vetranio at Sirmium, possibly to rally loyalty to the house of Constantine but more probably to further her own imperial ambitions. Constantius' harangue to the combined armies of Vetranio and himself achieved fame as a rhetorical *tour de force* (Julian, *Orations* 2.77, 76b-77b [I. 202–6, Wright], as well as Zosimus); Socrates ii.28.18–20 also stressed the generosity of Constantius' treatment of Vetranio.

156 Evagrius has evaded, or missed, the point of Zosimus' attack on Constantine, which was that the emperor's thoughtless extravagance forced him to introduce unwise new taxes.

157 Cf. i n. 1 for 'son of Pamphilus'. The following passages on the true belief of Constantius Chlorus and Constantine the Great are taken from Eusebius, *EH* viii.13.13, 14; minor variants are noted by Bidez–Parmentier in their *apparatus*. The *History* of Zosimus terminated with the sack of Rome in 410, i.e. during Honorius' reign but after the death of Arcadius; the *Suda* records that he wrote during Anastasius' reign, though the precise date is disputed (Alan Cameron, 'Date').

> tus (and long before this even, when proclaimed by the universal emperor, God himself), he made himself an emulator of his father's piety with respect to our teaching.

And at the end of his history he speaks in these terms:[158] 'But he who was outstanding in every quality of divine reverence, most mighty, victorious Constantine, together with his son Crispus, an emperor beloved of God and like his father in all respects, took possession of what was his due in the East.' But Eusebius, who outlived Constantine, would not have praised Crispus in this way if he had been slain by his father.[159] And Theodoret in his history says that Constantine at the very end of his life partook of the saving baptism at Nicomedia, but had delayed until this time from a desire to receive it in the river Jordan.[160]

And you say, you most polluted and utterly wicked man, that from the time that Christianity was revealed the affairs of the Romans have waned and been altogether lost,[161] either because you have read nothing of earlier writers or because you deliberately distort the truth. On the contrary, it is plainly revealed that Roman affairs have prospered together with our faith.[162] Consider, then, how during the very residence among men of Christ our God the majority of the Macedonians were

158 Eusebius, *EH* x.9.6.

159 Evagrius' defence of Constantine again evades, or misses, the central issue. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius had originally been composed in the late third century, but was then brought up to date on various occasions, the last being shortly after the victory of Constantine and Crispus over Licinius in 324, so that the lack of reaction to the family crises of 326 is not surprising (though, in the Syriac translation, the name of Crispus is absent from the passage quoted by Evagrius: see Barnes, *Constantine* 149–50); indeed, after the disgrace of Fausta rehabilitated the reputation of Crispus (cf. n. 152 above), there was less reason to remove his name. Sozomen, i.5, produced a more convincing riposte to the type of attack on Constantine's conversion reflected in Zosimus: he demonstrated that Constantine's conversion antedated Crispus' death since there was pro-Christian legislation which bore the names of both emperors; further, he attacked the notion that a pagan could not give absolution for family murders by pointing to the purification of Heracles, who had killed his children and a guest-friend. Sozomen, however, did not tackle the question of Crispus' death, which may explain why Evagrius chose to return to the issue.

160 *EH* i.32.

161 This is the basic thesis of Zosimus' narrative (e.g. i.58.4), and Evagrius is probably not referring to any specific passage. For discussion of Evagrius' attack on Zosimus, see Kaegi, *Byzantium* 217–23.

162 Eusebius linked the triumph of Christianity with the success of the empire: e.g. *Praise of Constantine* 16.6, where the Saviour destroys polyarchy and thereby permits the Roman empire to bring the human race into unity.

overcome by the Romans, and Albania and Iberia and the Colchians and Arabs were subordinated to the Romans. And in the 123rd Olympiad Gaius Caesar subjected with great struggles Gauls, Germans and Britons and annexed to the Roman rule the inhabitants of 500 cities, **[142]** as is recorded by the historians. He too was the first to be a monarch after the consuls, thereby first preparing a way and introducing in advance respect for sole rule in place of multiplicity of reverence and mob rule, because the sole rule of Christ was all but present. At once both the whole of Judaea and the adjacent territories were added, with the result that there then occurred the first census, in which Christ was also included, so that Bethlehem might publicize the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning it. For there was said about it by the prophet Micah something like this: 'And you Bethlehem, land of Judah, you are by no means the least among the leaders of Judah. For from you will come forth for me a leader who will guide my people Israel.'[163]

And after the birth of Christ our God, Egypt was attached to the Romans, after Caesar Augustus, under whom Christ was born, had completely outfought Antony and Cleopatra, who indeed made away with themselves. After them Cornelius Gallus was appointed by Augustus Caesar as controller of Egypt, the first man to rule Egypt after the Ptolemies, as has been established by the writers of history. How many times the Persians were cut down by Ventidius and Corbulo, Nero's general, and Severus, Trajan and Carus, Cassius and Odaenathus of Palmyra, and Apollonius and others, how often Seleucia and Ctesiphon were captured, and Nisibis, which shifted to either side, Armenia, and the neighbouring nations were attached to the Romans, you narrate as do others.[164]

I almost forgot what you record that Constantine achieved, who

163 Micah 5.2, quoted at Matthew 2.6.

164 The temporal benefits produced by correct worship are a recurrent theme throughout classical history; for an example from ecclesiastical historiography, cf. Socrates vii.20, 23; Sozomen ix.16.3–4 on Theodosius II; see Krivushin 'Socrates' 97–9; Kaegi, *Byzantium* 194–201.

There are several errors in Evagrius' survey: the Romans had turned Macedonia into a province in the second century BC, though there were extensive campaigns in the north Balkans under both Augustus and Tiberius; the sub-Caucasian regions of Albania, Iberia and Colchis were never firmly subordinated to Rome, at least not before the reign of Justinian; the Olympic date for Julius Caesar's Gallic wars is wrong, and should probably be 180, 181 or 182; Antony and Cleopatra had been overcome at Actium in 31 BC, and the Ptolemaic dynasty came to an end in the following year.

most resolutely and bravely guided the Roman realm in our faith, and what Julian – your man and devotee of your rites – suffered, who bequeathed such great wounds to the state. But whether he has obtained a prelude of what has been predicted concerning the **[143]** end of the world, or will indeed receive the fulfilment, is a matter for a higher dispensation than yours.

But, if it seems appropriate, let us review how the emperors who professed Hellenic beliefs and those who espoused Christianity ended their reigns. Did not Gaius Julius Caesar, the first monarch, conclude his life through assassination? Second, did not some of those in his armies dispatch Gaius the descendant of Tiberius with their swords? Was not Nero slain by one of his household? Did not Galba, Otho and Vitellius experience much the same, the three who were emperors for only sixteen months? Did not Domitian with poison slay Titus while he was emperor, though he was indeed his own brother? Was not Domitian miserably dispatched from this world by Stephen? What then do you say about Commodus – did not he depart life through Narcissus? Did not the same happen to Pertinax and Julianus? Did not Antoninus the son of Severus destroy his brother Geta, and himself experience much the same from Martial? What too about Macrinus, was he not butchered by his own troops after being paraded round Byzantium like a captive? And Aurelius Antoninus, the one from Emesa, was he not slaughtered along with his mother? Was not his successor Alexander struck by the same tragedy, together with his mother? What should we say, too, about Maximinus who was slain by his own army, or Gordian who by the plots of Philip encountered his last day through his own soldiers? And you, say how Philip and his successor Decius – were they not destroyed by their enemies? And indeed, were not Gallus and Volusianus thrust from their life by their own forces? And what of Aemilianus, did he not also encounter the same? And was not Valerian made captive and paraded about by the Persians? And after the murder of Gallienus and the slaughter of Carinus, **[144]** affairs passed to Diocletian and those whom he chose himself to share his rule. Of these Herculius Maximianus and Maxentius his son, and Licinius perished utterly.

But from the time when the all-celebrated Constantine took over the realm, and on founding the city named after him dedicated it to Christ, observe, pray, if any of the emperors there (apart from Julian, your hierophant and emperor) was destroyed by their own men or the enemy, or

in short whether a tyrant overpowered an emperor, with the single exception of Basiliscus' expulsion of Zeno, by whom he was deposed and his life was removed. I am persuaded, indeed, if you talk about Valens, who had committed so many wrongs against Christians. For concerning anyone else, not even you can speak.[165] Let no one think that these things are irrelevant to the ecclesiastical history, but quite certainly necessary and essential, since the historians of the Hellenes deliberately distort precision. But let us move to the remainder of Anastasius' actions.[166]

42 And so the aforesaid matters were corrected by Anastasius in a manner worthy of an emperor; but he acted unworthily of these in devising the so-called gold impost, and by disposing the military expenses onto the tax-payers most heavily.[167] He also removed the

165 Just as Christianity brought temporal benefits to the empire in which it was centred, so the manner of the individual ruler's death would reflect his attitude towards religious matters (cf. i. n. 77 above for the same principle applied to church leaders). The contrast drawn by Evagrius would have been less impressive if he had included the Christian rulers of the Western Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, since many of them had less peaceful ends than the rulers in Constantinople.

Eusebius, *Oration to the Saints* 24–5, noted the fitting reward for the persecutors Decius, Valerian, Aurelian and Diocletian.

166 The long anti-pagan digression sparked off by Anastasius' abolition of the Chrysargyron tax is now at an end. Allen, *Evagrius* 62–3, 161, regards this, together with the long refutation of pagan accusations of Christian inconsistency at i.11, as little more than rhetorical exercises which were not intended to combat contemporary pagans. This assessment may be too negative. Kaegi, *Byzantium* 217–23, suggests that the empire's contemporary problems may have resuscitated such pagan complaints. The Antioch in which Evagrius lived and worked was disrupted by a major pagan scandal (see v.18), and, although one would not expect crypto-pagans to choose to read an ecclesiastical history, the educated audience for whom Evagrius wrote might well have appreciated a reminder of some historical proofs of the rectitude of Christianity. Evagrius also here pays attention to the reputation of Constantine, which was perhaps a matter of contemporary interest since, after a gap of over 200 years, the name Constantine had re-entered the imperial line as part of the full imperial titulature of both Tiberius and Maurice (see Whitby, 'Constantine').

167 For Anastasius' proper behaviour in abolishing the Chrysargyron, cf. iii.39, p. 137:8. Most sources mention Anastasius' reputation for insatiable greed: Malalas 408:16 (though also noting gifts to taxpayers: 409:11–13); *Oracle of Baalbek* 168; John Lydus, *De Mag.* iii.46; *Anth. Gr.* xi.271; John of Antioch fr. 215.

Evagrius here refers to two aspects of a substantial reform of the basic land tax, which had previously been collected in kind, except in places where, unsystematically, it had been commuted to gold. In order to reduce waste and unnecessary expenditure, Anastasius overhauled the system: he commuted most payments to gold but intended to ensure that enough

collection of taxes from local councillors and appointed the so-called *vindices* over each city, at the suggestion, they say, of Marinus the Syrian who exercised the highest of offices which men of old called the prefect of the palace. As a result of this the revenues were greatly reduced and the flower of the cities lapsed: for in former times the nobility were inscribed in the cities' albums, since each city regarded and defined those in the councils as a sort of senate.[168] **[145]**

43 There rebelled against Anastasius Vitalian, a Thracian by race, who after ravaging Thrace and Moesia as far as Odessus and Anchialus pressed on to the imperial city with an innumerable horde of Hunnic tribes. The emperor sent Hypatius to meet him. And after Hypatius was betrayed by his own men, taken captive, and released for a large ransom, Cyril undertook the campaign. At first the battle was evenly balanced, and then it experienced various alternations in pursuits and retreats; although Cyril had held the upper hand, a pursuit had to turn

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was collected in kind to meet military needs without the regular compulsory purchase (*coemptio*) of extra supplies. The object was to improve the efficiency of the system and preserve taxpayers from extortionate military demands (cf. Malalas 394:8–10), but *coemptio* was allowed in certain circumstances and this may be the point of Evagrius' objection in the second part of the sentence. See Jones, *LRE* 235, 460; Stein, *Bas-Empire* II. 210–15 for discussion of Anastasius' various measures to improve urban administration.

168 Marinus (*PLRE* II. 726–8, *s.v.* Marinus 7) served for most of Anastasius' reign as a financial official in the praetorian prefecture, becoming one of Anastasius' key financial advisers and, eventually in 512, praetorian prefect. His reform (also noted by Malalas 400:11–21) was undoubtedly intended to improve the efficiency of tax collection, and reduce the scope for corruption and unfair allocation by the city councillors, the members of the local *curiae*, 'the nobility' whose names were recorded in local lists. These councillors had previously controlled taxation (Jones, *LRE* 236), and, not unnaturally, the new supervisors were unpopular with the men whose self-enrichment they were intended to curb; these *vindices* are praised by Priscian, *Laud. Anast.* 193–5, for helping farmers by striking at the injustice of the *curiales*. The *vindices* extended their powers to include the allocation as well as the collection of revenues. Upholders of the traditional rights of the propertied classes accused Marinus and his men of enriching themselves from the taxes they now controlled (John Lydus, *De Mag.* iii.49).

At some point in the sixth century the *curiae* in the eastern part of the empire ceased to be maintained, a consequence of their diminished role and importance. Most modern scholarship accepts Evagrius' gloomy assessment of the consequences, with talk of a loss of civic autonomy and vitality (e.g. Jones, *LRE* 755–66); for a more optimistic assessment of the maintenance of a vital urban society in the eastern provinces, in spite of the decline of the *curia* as an institution, see Whittow, 'City', esp. 11–12.

back on itself when his soldiers allowed themselves to be defeated. And in this way Vitalian took Cyril captive from Odessus and pushed his advance as far as the place called Sycae, ravaging everything, burning everything, having nothing else in his thoughts than to capture the city itself and to control the empire.[169]

When this man had encamped at Sycae, Marinus the Syrian, whom we mentioned before, was sent by the emperor with a naval force to do battle with Vitalian. And so the two forces met, the one with Sycae astern, the other with Constantinople. And at first they remained stationary, but then, after sallies and exchanges of missiles between the two contingents, a fierce naval battle was joined near the place called Bytharia; after backing water, Vitalian fled precipitately, losing the majority of his force, while his associates fled so quickly that on the morrow not a single enemy was found in the vicinity of Anaplus or the city. They say that Vitalian then remained for some time at Anchialus, keeping quiet.[170]

Another Hunnic race also made an incursion, after crossing the Cappadocian Gates.[171]

169 For Vitalian's career, see *PLRE* II. 1171–6, *s.v.* Vitalianus 2. Vitalian launched three revolts, of which Evagrius presents a rather confused account derived from the long narrative in Malalas 402:3–406:8. In 513 Vitalian was in command of federate troops in Thrace, possibly as *comes foederatorum*, and revolted because of Anastasius' failure to provide the supplies due to his troops, although his support for Chalcedon and opposition to Anastasius' increasingly Monophysite preferences were also major factors. Vitalian advanced as far as the Hebdomon, but was persuaded to retire when the emperor made certain promises, which were promptly broken. Anastasius sent out Cyril to punish Vitalian, and after a closely fought engagement Cyril was able to enter Odessus (modern Varna on the Black Sea) while Vitalian retreated. But Vitalian then bribed Cyril's troops to admit him to Odessus where he killed Cyril. Anastasius sent another army commanded by Hypatius and Alathar, but they were defeated and taken prisoner; Hypatius was held to ransom, which was only paid in full after Vitalian had in 514 marched on Constantinople for a second time. Anastasius again broke promises about holding a church council, and Vitalian again attacked the capital in 515, this time with a fleet as well as an army, and based himself on the Bosporus between Anaplus and Sycae (see further below).

170 Evagrius has omitted the key ingredient in Marinus' success (described at length by Malalas), which was the gift of an inflammable ingredient, referred to as elemental sulphur, which would ignite whatever it was thrown upon once it was touched by the sun's rays. John of Antioch, who also omits the Greek fire, ascribes a significant role in the victory to the future emperor Justin (fr. 214e). After this crushing defeat, Vitalian remained at Anchialus until Anastasius' death in 518. For Marinus, see iii.42 and n. 168 above.

171 Like his account of Vitalian, Evagrius derived this information from Malalas (406:9–18); in 515 the Sabir Huns crossed the Caspian Gates, and ravaged extensively as

At the same time Rhodes was also afflicted by terrible earthquakes, **[146]** its third misfortune, at dead of night.[172]

44 And at Byzantium, when the emperor wished to make an addition to the Trisaghion of the phrase, 'Who was crucified for us', a very great disturbance occurred on the grounds that the Christian worship was being utterly nullified.[173] In a letter to Soterichus, Severus says that the initiator and champion of this was Macedonius, together with the clergy under him (Severus had not yet obtained his priestly see, but was residing in the imperial city, when he had been driven from his own monastery along with others, as I have said).[174] I think it was also for these slanders, in addition to what has been, that Macedonius was expelled.[175]

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far as Cappadocia; Malalas recorded Anastasius' benefactions to the victims and the extra defensive measures that he took.

172 Like the rest of the material in this chapter, the same sequence of Malalas (406:19–21) was Evagrius' source. Malalas again notes the emperor's generosity towards the survivors.

173 Like the previous chapter, the information on this rioting in November 512 was derived from Malalas (406:22–408:11). For the Christological significance of the Monophysite addition to the Trisaghion, see n. 15 above, and for the arguments between Macedonius and Severus about its introduction, n. 114.

174 Soterichus, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, had professed adherence to Chalcedon at his appointment by Macedonius, but then switched sides on reaching his see (see Honigmann, *Évêques* 109–13). Fragments of Severus' letter survive in a Coptic translation (discussion and Latin translation in Garitte, 'Fragments'; also *Letters of Severus* 118 [*PO* 14, pp. 290–1]); the letter, whose title contains the information about Severus' status, begins with a description of a riot in S. Sophia, when a group of worshippers chanting the Monophysite Trisaghion was attacked by a mob allegedly organized by Macedonius; after a lacuna of uncertain length, the letter concludes with a discussion involving Severus and Secundinus, the emperor's brother-in-law, and other distinguished men, in which Macedonius is being pressed to accept the Monophysite position. For Evagrius' earlier treatment of Severus, see iii.33, especially with n. 120 above.

175 These comments about Macedonius are Evagrius' own addition to the description of the rioting derived from Malalas, and are an intelligent attempt, based on an additional source, to set the violence in a wider context. By the time of the rioting in 512, Macedonius was safely in exile at Euchaïta (for his deposition, see iii.32, with n. 113 above), but the opposition to the Monophysites was inspired by monks, especially the Sleepless Monks, who could easily be labelled as supporters of the deposed patriarch (cf. ps.-Zach. vii.7 for the connection). Severus' letter to Soterichus is to be dated to 510, some time before the riot to which Evagrius relates it (Lebon, *Monophysisme* 46 n. 1).

Since, consequently, the people were carried out of control, those in authority came into mortal peril and many prominent places in the city were burnt. And when the populace found in the house of Marinus the Syrian a certain countryman who pursued the monastic life, they chopped off his head, saying that the phrase had been added at his suggestion; after affixing his head to a pole they contemptuously shouted: 'This indeed is the conspirator against the Trinity.' And the disturbance reached such a pitch, plundering everything and exceeding all constraint, that the emperor was compelled to come to the Hippodrome in a pitiful state, without his crown;[176] he sent heralds to the people proclaiming that with regard indeed to the imperial power, while he would abdicate this most readily, it was a matter of impossibility that all should ascend to this, since it was quite unable to tolerate many men, but that it would assuredly be a single man who took the helm of it after him.[177] On seeing this spectacle, the populace turned about, as if from some divine intervention, and begged Anastasius to put on his crown, promising to remain quiet.

After living for only a very short time after these events, Anastasius passed over to the other life, after directing the Roman empire for twenty-seven years, three months and an equal number of days.[178]

End of the 3rd book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius.

176 On 7 November 512. The rioters had been chanting for a new emperor, and tried to proclaim Areobindus, the husband of Anicia Juliana, whose imperial connections and strong Chalcedonian preferences recommended Areobindus as a candidate. Marinus (cf. iii.43 with n. 168 above) was a prominent supporter of Severus; Malalas says that the murdered monk was an easterner (407:16).

177 This rather complicated pronouncement, which reminded the rioting mob that, however effective their mass demonstration might seem, the empire would continue to be controlled by a monarch rather than the populace, is not preserved in Malalas who records that the herald exhorted the people to stop the random killings (408:2–4). As soon as he was back in control, Anastasius harshly punished the guilty.

178 Anastasius died, aged 90, on 9 July 518. As Allen (*Evagrius* 166) points out, Evagrius has reduced the interval between the rioting and Anastasius' death through his inaccurate use of Malalas (whose own chronology is unclear). In Malalas, 408:12–409:16, the rioting is followed by the dreams of Anastasius and his *cubicularius* Amantius, which predicted their deaths, and then an account of Anastasius' benefactions, before the notice of his death 'shortly afterwards'. Thunder and lightning accompanied his death, which were regarded as signs of divine displeasure at the death of a heretic (Allen, *Evagrius* 169); it is not surprising that Evagrius excluded them.

[148] THESE ARE THE CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS *SCHOLASTICUS*

under him up to the times of Justinian, and how Rome again came under the Romans when Vitigis fled from it.

20. That the so-called Heruls became Christians in the times of Justinian.

21. That, after Rome had again come under the Goths, Belisarius rescued it once more.

22. That the Abasgi also became Christians at that time.

23. That the inhabitants of the Don also became Christians at that time; and concerning the earthquakes which occurred in Greece and Asia.

24. Concerning the general Narses and his piety.

25. That Chosroes, being consumed by jealousy at Justinian's successes, campaigned against the Romans and destroyed very many Roman cities, among them being Antioch the Great.

26. Concerning the miracle of the revered and life-giving wood of the Cross which occurred at Apamea.

27. Concerning the expedition of Chosroes against Edessa.

28. Concerning the miracle which occurred at Sergiopolis.

29. Concerning the plague misfortune.

30. Concerning the avarice and greed of Justinian.

31. Concerning the Great Church of S. Sophia and the Holy Apostles.

32. Concerning the emperor's passion, as opposed to favour, for the Blue colour.

33. Concerning Barsanuphius the ascetic.

34. Concerning Symeon the monk, the fool for Christ.

35. Concerning Thomas the monk, and his similar feigned folly.

36. Concerning Patriarch Menas, and the miracle which occurred at that time for the Jewish child.

37. Those who were bishops of the major cities at that point in time.

[150] 38. Concerning the holy Fifth Ecumenical Synod, and the reason for which it was convened.

39. That Justinian was turned aside from the true faith and proclaimed that the Lord's body was incorruptible.

40. Concerning Anastasius, Bishop of Antioch.

41. Concerning the death of Justinian.

[151] CHAPTERS OF THE FOURTH *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS EX-PREFECT AND *SCHOLASTICUS*

1 The scribe in fact divided this heading into two: 15 'Concerning what Procopius wrote that occurred between'; 16 'Concerning Romans and Persians'. What survives from 16 clearly belongs with the preceding entry, but this has presumably displaced something else (perhaps relating to the invasion of Alamundaras recorded in iv.13).

[153] BOOK IV OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS OF EPIPHANIA, *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT

1 After Anastasius had, as I have said, passed over to the better estate, Justin, a Thracian by birth, took on the purple clothing on the ninth day of the month Panemus, which is called July by the Romans, in the 566th year of the Era of Antioch;[1] he was proclaimed emperor by the imperial bodyguards, of which he was also in charge, as he had been appointed commander of the regiments in the palace.[2] He acquired the monarchical rule contrary to all expectation, since there were many prominent members of Anastasius' family who had achieved great prosperity and wielded all the power needed to invest themselves with such a great office.[3]

2 Now Amantius indeed, who was in charge of the imperial bed-chamber, was an especially powerful man. Since it was not lawful for a man who had been deprived of his genitals to achieve the rule of the Romans, he wished to invest Theocritus, who was loyal to him, with the

1 Anastasius had died on the night of 9 July 518, and Justin was crowned on the next day. The dating formula was derived from Malalas (it is preserved in the Slavonic trans. p.120); the date is correct. For the Era of Antioch, cf. ii n. 130 above.

The best treatment of Justin's reign is still Vasiliev, *Justin*.

2 Justin held the post of *comes excubitorum*, commander of the most important unit within the palace guard. Evagrius' language suggests that he believed Justin was *magister officiorum* (cf. iii.29, p. 125:28–9, with n. 94; iii.32, p. 130:23–4 for the phrase), a post held by Celer, who also played a prominent part in the succession.

3 Anastasius had three nephews, Probus, Hypatius and Patricius, who had all been prominent during his reign (Procopius, *Wars* i.11.1, makes a similar comment about the many distinguished kinsmen who were pushed aside). Hypatius had had the most active military career (*PLRE* II. 577–81, *s. v.* Hypatius 6), but his recent humiliation at the hands of Vitalian might have harmed his chances; Patricius, the *magister militum praesentalis* (*PLRE* II. 840–2, *s. v.* Patricius 14), was proclaimed by the *scholarii*, but he was almost killed by the excubitors and only rescued by the young Justinian; Probus and Patricius were both known to be Monophysites, which would have alienated the Constantinopolitan clergy. There is an account of proceedings in Const. Porph. *De Cer.* i.93.

crown of monarchical rule. And indeed, after having Justin summoned, he gave him much money, ordering him to distribute it to those who were particularly appropriate for this and who could place the purple robe on **[154]** Theocritus. Justin was invested with the rule either by purchasing the people with the money, or by the support of the so-called excubitors, for both are said. Forthwith then he eliminated Amantius and Theocritus, along with others, from among men.[4]

3 As for Vitalian, who was residing in Thrace (the man who had wished to thrust Anastasius from imperial rule), Justin summoned him to the city of Constantine, since he feared his power and experience in war, as well as his universal reputation and the urge that he possessed for imperial rule. Accurately realizing that the only way to get the better of him would be to pretend to be a friend, he placed an impenetrable mask on his deceit and designated him general of one of the so-called praesental armies.[5] And giving even more space to persuasion for the sake of greater deception, he also advanced Vitalian to the consulship. While this man was

4 Amantius (PLRE II. 67–8, *s.v.* Amantius 4), was the chief eunuch, *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, and a prominent Monophysite. Theocritus (*PLRE* II. 1065) was his *domesticus* or bodyguard; no chanting for Theocritus is mentioned in *De Cer.* i.93 (but this account stresses the prominence of Justin's family, and Theocritus might have been deliberately omitted as a failed usurper). Malalas (411:1–3) records that Justin actually distributed the money, but the army and the people did not choose Theocritus.

On 15 and 16 July pro-Chalcedonian demonstrations in S. Sophia demanded an anathema on Severus the Manichee, the expulsion of the new Ztumas (a name given to Chrysaphius, the powerful eunuch in the latter years of Theodosius II who was executed soon after Marcian's accession: hence the allusion is to Amantius), and the reinstitution in the diptychs of the names of Pope Leo and the patriarchs Euphemius and Macedonius as public proof of their orthodoxy. There is a convenient summary of the meetings, including the acclamations, in Vasiliev, *Justin* 136–44; the full text is in Mansi, *Collectio* VIII. 1057–66.

Within ten days of Justin's accession, Amantius and another *cubicularius*, Andrew, were accused of plotting to proclaim Theocritus, and all three were executed; Marinus, the chief financial adviser to Anastasius (cf. iii.42 with n. 168 above), fell from favour, and there were various exiles (and recalls for those exiled by Anastasius): Stein, *Bas-Empire* II. 224. Religious affiliation was clearly an important factor in the rivalry for the succession.

5 The accession of a Chalcedonian emperor removed one of Vitalian's main sources of grievance against Anastasius; he must have arrived in Constantinople very shortly after Justin's accession, since he is already referred to as a *magister militum* (*praesentalis*) in a letter received at Rome on 18 July 518 (*Epist. Avell.* 230.4), and was acclaimed as general and patrician at a church council at Tyre on 16 September. He played a prominent role in the negotiations to restore ecclesiastical unity with Rome. Ps.-Zachariah (vii.13) also refers to his courage and military reputation.

holding the consulship, on a visit to the palace he was murdered at an inner door and died, paying this price for his insolent actions against the realm of the Romans. But these things happened later.[6]

4 But Severus who, as the previous narrative related, had been ordained as prelate of the city of Antiochus, did not refrain from each day encompassing with anathema the Synod at Chalcedon, and especially in his so-called enthronement missives and in the responses to these which he dispatched to the patriarchs everywhere; but they were only accepted at the city of Alexander by John, the successor of the previous John, and in turn Dioscorus and Timothy. These indeed have been preserved down to our time, and from there many disputes have arisen for the church, and the most faithful populace has been divided.[7] In the first year of his reign Justin ordered **[155]** that Severus be arrested and that he suffer the penalty of having his tongue cut out, as is rumoured by some, Irenaeus being entrusted with the deed; the latter was in charge of the east of the realm at the city of Antiochus. Severus, in writing to some Antiochenes and describing the manner of his flight, confirms that Irenaeus was entrusted with his detention; here he hurls the greatest reproaches at Irenaeus, since he had placed an extremely strict guard around him to prevent his escape from the city of Antiochus.[8]

6 Vitalian had been given the honorary rank of ex-consul in 518, and held the consulship in 520. In July 520 he was murdered, together with his secretary Paul and *domesticus* Celer, at the part of the palace known as the Delphax (cf. v. n. 50 below); Justinian was alleged to have been responsible (Procopius, *Secret History* 6.28), and certainly benefited from the removal of a powerful rival, whom he succeeded as *magister militum praesentalis*. Evagrius is surprisingly restrained on the murder of Vitalian; contrast v.2 on Justin II's murder of his cousin and rival.

7 The inaugural encyclicals of Severus, with their explicit anathema on Chalcedon, have already been mentioned at iii.33. John of Nikiu, Patriarch of Alexandria 505–16 (cf. iii.23 with n. 76), would have received these encyclicals (an Arabic version of the letter to John survives: see Allen, *Evagrius* 176 n. 24); his two successors, Dioscorus II (516–17) and Timothy IV (517–35) would have sent their own inaugural encyclicals to Severus at Antioch, which he would have accepted if he approved the writer's doctrinal position (see Severus, *Letters* vi.1, for uncertainty about receiving the synodicals of Patriarch John of Constantinople in 518).

8 From the very start of his reign Justin supported moves to have Chalcedon accepted and anti-Chalcedonian bishops removed. Three local Synods, at Constantinople on 20 July, Jerusalem on 6 August and Tyre on 16 September all supported the deposition of Severus. For these developments and the associated reconciliation with Rome, see Meyendorff, *Unity* 211–16; Frend, *Rise* 233–47.

There are some who say that Vitalian, who still appeared to be the prime influence with Justin, demanded the tongue of Severus, because in his writings Severus insulted him. Accordingly, he fled his own see in the month Gorpiaeus, which the Roman tongue calls September, in the 567th year of the Era of Antioch.[9] And after him there ascended to his see Paul, who was under orders to proclaim in public the Synod of Chalcedon. Then Paul voluntarily withdrew from the city of Antiochus and after measuring out his life went the way of all men; Euphrasius from Jerusalem ascended to his see after him.[10]

5 At the same time, under Justin, frequent and terrible conflagrations occurred at Antioch, as if leading in the most frightful tremors which took place there and providing a prelude to the sufferings.[11] For after a short time, in the tenth month of the seventh year of his reign, in the month Artemisius or May, on its 29th day, precisely at the very midpoint of the sixth day of the so-called hebdomad, a quaking and shaking struck **[156]** the city and overturned and levelled almost all of it. Fire too followed these, as if apportioning the disaster with them. For what the former did not lay low the fire encompassed, burnt to ashes and incinerated. And how many parts of the city suffered, how many people (according to probable estimates) fell victim to the fire and the earthquakes, and what things occurred, strange and beyond description, have been movingly narrated by John the

Nothing else is known about this Irenaeus (*PLRE* II. 625, *s.v.* Irenaeus 6), the *comes Orientis* whose office was located at Antioch; Allen, *Evagrius* 176, refers to unedited Coptic and Syriac versions of this letter of Severus to the Antiochenes.

9 Ps.-Zachariah (viii.2), the only other source to mention the cutting out of Severus' tongue, attributes the order to Vitalian, though without explaining the latter's hostility. Severus fled to Alexandria, where he arrived on 29 September 518; the Antiochene date for his flight is correct.

10 Paul 'the Jew', the former head of the hospice of Eubulus at Constantinople, was installed as patriarch by July 519 and organized a vigorous campaign against the opponents of Chalcedon; his zeal seems to have been excessive and in 521, after severe disturbances, he asked to be allowed to withdraw from his see (*Epist. Avell.* 241–2). His successor, Euphrasius of Jerusalem (521–6), was another vigorous opponent of the Monophysites. Evagrius, a proponent of toleration, does not mention these unpleasant activities by Antiochene patriarchs.

11 Malalas 417:9–19. The first fire broke out in October 525, and destroyed a large area in the centre of the city; over the next six months there were further conflagrations, and Justin gave 200 pounds of gold to offset the damage. Discussion in Downey, *Antioch* 519–21.

rhetor,[12] who terminated his history here.[13] And indeed Euphrasius also was engulfed in the ruins and died, another disaster for the city, so that there was no one to take provision for its needs.[14]

6 But God's saving care for men, which devises cures before the blow, and tempers the sword of anger with mercy, which exhibits its own sympathy at the very moment of despair, raised up Ephrem, who directed the reins of the Eastern realm, to assume every care so that the city should not lack any necessities. And as a consequence the sons of the Antiochenes, in admiration, elected him as priest. And he obtained the apostolic see, being allotted it as a reward and privilege for his especial support.[15] And

12 Malalas 419:5–421:21, with extra material in the diverse representatives of the Malalas tradition, especially in the Slavonic translation (see the *apparatus* to the Jeffreys' translation). The quake struck on 29 May 526, in Justin's eighth year; Evagrius' date would have been right if he had written 'after seven years *and* ten months . . .', but he also antedated the 528 quake by one year (cf. n. 16 below). The extant text of Malalas has the wrong year (seventh year: Allen, *Evagrius* 177), though the Slavonic translation indicates that the full version included the month as well. Malalas' dating formula was perhaps sufficiently unclear to mislead Evagrius into interpreting the tenth month as subordinate to the seventh year rather than additional.

It was the day before the feast of Ascension, when the city was crowded with visitors for the coming festival. Malalas states that 250,000 people perished, but also presents stories of miraculous survival under the rubble and of divine vengeance upon a looter. For discussion of the massive destruction, see Downey, *Antioch* 521–4.

13 This statement has provoked much debate: for a recent discussion, see Croke, in Jeffreys, *Studies* 17–22. The extant version of Malalas breaks off in 563, but almost certainly terminated with Justinian's death in 565. The main part of the *Chronicle* probably terminated with the death of Justin in 528: this, at least, is the implication of the Slavonic translation, and is compatible with Evagrius' statement here, since this earthquake is the last major notice under Justin I. A continuation was then added by the same author, year by year, to 532. The last part of the *Chronicle*, from the end of the Nika Riot, appears to have been added after an interval, perhaps not by the same author as the original text.

14 Euphrasius (cf. n. 10 above) was apparently thrown into a cauldron of boiling wax, which Monophysite authors regarded as fitting punishment for his Chalcedonian heresy (ps.-Zach. viii.1, 4; Malalas 423:22 confirms that he was burnt); according to the Chalcedonian writer Marcellinus Comes, *s.a.* 526, he was struck by an obelisk in the Hippodrome.

15 Substantial help for the work of clearance and reconstruction was provided by Justin I, who took a personal interest in what was happening (Malalas 422:1–8). The *comes Orientis* Ephrem of Amida was responsible for supervising the works; he was chosen as patriarch in 527, and the appointment was confirmed after the elevation of Justinian as co-emperor in April. His efficient relief work had demonstrated his competence at some of the most important qualities required of a patriarch – a philanthropic nature, a penchant for organization and the ability to influence people of power.

For 'the sons of the Antiochenes', cf. i.20 with n. 175 above.

again it suffered from earthquakes 30 months later. Then indeed the city of Antiochus was called city of God, Theopolis, and obtained other support from the emperor.[16]

7 But since we have mentioned the said misfortunes, come and let us add to the present work some other memorable events, which have been conveyed to us by those who have narrated them.[17] There was a man Zosimas, a Phoenician by birth from the part called Maritime, who had been allotted as his fatherland the village of Sinde, which is not twenty stades distant from the city of the Tyrians. He was a contender in the solitary life, and had to such an extent brought God into his person through his abstinence from and partaking of food,[18] and by the other virtues of his life that not only was he able to foresee future events but also had the gift of complete serenity. **[157]** He was in the company of one of the notables of the city of Caesar, which is the chief city of one of the Palestines. This man indeed was Arcesilaus, a man of good birth and famous, who was well provided with distinctions and the other things which decorate the life of man.[19] This Zosimas, at the very moment of the collapse of the city of Antiochus, suddenly put on a gloomy appearance, and lamented and groaned inwardly, pouring forth so many tears that he actually soaked the earth; he requested a censer, and after censing the whole place where they stood,[20] he threw himself onto the ground and

16 The quake of May 526 had been followed by aftershocks which persisted for 18 months, though the survivors had taken heart from the appearance of a Cross in the sky over the northern part of the city (Malalas 421:9–12). The next major earthquake struck on 29 November 528, exactly 30 months after the shock of 526; Evagrius, however, antedated the 526 quake by one year (cf. n. 12 above), and so would probably have located this second quake in the same year as Justinian's accession, i.e. 527 (iv.9), which may account for his willingness to insert the notice at this point. Casualties were much lower (4,870 according to Theophanes 177:31–2), but the repair work of the previous two years was nullified.

Malalas 443:16–22 states that the change of name was suggested by Symeon (Stylites the Younger), and refers to prophecies of the loss of the old name. The northern part of the mountain overlooking the city had been named Staurin to commemorate the apparition of the Cross (σταυρός) in 526.

17 The logic of the narrative sequence is clear, since the first of Zosimas' miracles concerns the Antioch earthquake, after which Evagrius moves on to other wonders.

18 For the importance of knowing when to eat as well as when to fast, cf. the description of Symeon the Fool at iv.34, p. 183:2–3; also Theodoret, *HR* 3.12–13.

19 I.e. Caesarea, metropolis of First Palestine; Arcesilaus is otherwise unknown.

20 Festugière (368 n. 15) interprets this as an act of devotion following a divine visitation, but also one with apotropaic overtones.

appeased God with prayers and entreaties. Next, when Arcesilaus enquired what indeed it was that had so distressed him, he clearly said that the cry of the fall of the city of Antiochus had just then echoed round his ears. As a result Arcesilaus and the bystanders, in astonishment, recorded the hour, and subsequently found that it was just as Zosimas had declared.[21] Through him many other miracles occurred; omitting the majority, since indeed they are of too great a number to relate, I will relate a few.

At the same time as Zosimas there flourished a man named John, who was similar in his virtues; he had wrestled in the solitary and propertyless life at the monastery of Choziba, which is situated at the edge of the ravine at the northern part of the highway which leads travellers from Jerusalem to the city of the men of Jericho,[22] but was now bishop of the city of Caesar, which I have already mentioned.[23] When he heard that the wife of Arcesilaus, whom I have mentioned, had put out one of her eyes with a weaving shuttle, this John the Chozibite went to her at the run to inspect the injury. When he saw that the pupil had fallen out and that the entire eye was discharging, he instructed one of the attendant doctors to bring a sponge, to reinstate **[158]** what had discharged, as far as he could, and to bind on the sponge and secure it with bandages. All this was while Arcesilaus was absent, for he happened to be with Zosimas in his monastery, which lay near the village of Sinde, about 500 stades distant from the city of Caesar. Accordingly runners raced off for

21 The recluse Theodosius emerged from his cell to encourage his brethren to pray for mercy to avert an imminent affliction – six or seven days later, an earthquake struck Antioch (*Life*, pp. 86:14–87:23). An analogous miracle is told of Symeon the Fool and the earthquake of 551 (iv.34; cf. also less specific predictions of destruction in the *Life* of Symeon the Younger, ch. 104–5).

Long-distance announcements of current events are quite common in miracle collections, but usually involve the death of an important personage, e.g. John the Almsgiver (*Life* of John ch. 46) or the emperor Maurice (Theophylact viii.13.7–14); cf. also Rufus, *Plerophories* 6, 54; *Pratum Spirituale* 57 (Holy Men). It was obviously essential to record the precise time or circumstances of the pronouncement.

22 The monastery of Choziba is sited about five kilometres west of Jericho, tucked into the base of the canyon wall on the north side of the Wadi Kelt/Qilt (for description and photograph of the extant buildings, see Hirschfeld, *Monasteries* 36–8); it was sufficiently close to the Jerusalem–Jericho highway for one of the monastic tasks to be offering refreshment to travellers.

23 John the Chozibite received a delegation of monastic leaders at Caesarea in 518 (*Life* of Sabas ch. 61). *Pratum Spirituale* 25 has a story about John giving Holy Communion in the monastery of Choziba.

Arcesilaus to announce this. Arcesilaus was sitting by Zosimas having a discussion. When he learnt this he uttered a piercing wail, rent and pulled out his hair and threw it into the air. When Zosimas asked the reason, Arcesilaus said what had happened with frequent interruptions for groans and tears. And so Zosimas left him and hurried by himself into a certain room where, as is the custom for such people, he used to commune with God. After some time he approached him again and he greeted Arcesilaus with a solemn smile and spoke to him, touching his hand: 'Depart in happiness, depart; grace has been granted to the Chozibite. Your wife is cured, she has both her eyes, and the misfortune had no power to deprive her of anything, since such was the will of the Chozibite.' This indeed happened, with the two just men working wonders for the same purpose.

Once when this Zosimas was going to the city of Caesar and was leading along an ass on which he had placed some of his necessities, a lion came up, seized the ass and departed. Zosimas followed him into the wood until the lion became satiated from his feast on the beast; Zosimas smiled at it and said: 'Look here, my friend, my journey has been interrupted, while I am stout, have gone far beyond youth and am incapable of carrying on my back what was loaded onto the animal. Therefore it is necessary for you, contrary to the law of nature, to carry the burden, if indeed you wish Zosimas to leave these parts and you to become a wild beast again.' **[159]** And the lion forgetting its ferocity, fawned and at once ran gently up to Zosimas, and through its demeanour proclaimed obedience. Zosimas put on him the ass's burden and led him as far as the gates of the city of Caesar, showing God's power, and how all things are obedient slaves to men when we live for Him and do not debase the grace given to us.[24] But so as not to protract the narrative with more examples, I will return to the point from which I made the digression.

8 While Justin was still directing the monarchical rule, what is now called Dyrrachium, but was formerly Epidamnus, suffered from an

24 Peaceable communion with animals, especially with the most ferocious, namely the lion, was a sure sign of sanctity, and there are numerous stories of saints being helped or befriended by lions (with Daniel in the lions' den as an archetype). For extended discussion, see Elliott, *Roads* 144–67, with further examples in Chadwick, 'Moschus' 68 and Theodoret, *HR* 6.2; *Life* of Sabas chs. 23, 33, 49; *Life* of Euthymius ch. 13; as Chadwick observes, in reality anchorites might fall prey to wild animals.

agitation of the earth; likewise also Corinth, which is situated in Greece, and then also Anazarbus, which is capital of the second province of the Cilicians, – its fourth affliction. Justin restored these cities at great expense. About the same time also Edessa, a very great and prosperous city of Osrhoene, was inundated by the waters of the torrent Skirtos which flows by it, so that most of its buildings were swept away and a countless multitude perished, whom the water took and carried off. Edessa and Anazarbus were accordingly renamed by the same Justin, and each of them was adorned with his own appellation.[25]

9 When this Justin had led the empire for eight years and nine months and a few days, his nephew Justinian became co-emperor after being proclaimed on the first of the month Xanthicus, or rather April, in the 575th year of the Era of Antioch.[26] And after these matters had proceeded in this way, Justin departed the present empire on reaching the perfect day on the first day of Lous, which is also the month August, after being co-emperor **[160]** with Justinian for four months, and having in total exercised the monarchical rule for nine years in addition to a few days.

When Justinian alone girded on the whole rule of the Roman dominion, although the Synod at Chalcedon was already being proclaimed throughout the most holy churches on the orders of Justin, as I have described, ecclesiastical dispositions were still in disarray in some prefectures, and especially in the emperor's city and that of Alexander: Anthimus was presiding over the bishopric of the queen of cities, while Theodosius was leading the church of the Alexandrians. For both these held the opinion of the one and only nature.[27]

25 The information in this chapter, all of which originated in the same passage of Malalas (417:20–419:4), has been inserted out of chronological sequence: Dyrrachium and Corinth were struck by a quake in 520, Anazarbus in the next year. The flood at Edessa, which is said to have claimed 30,000 lives, occurred on 22 April 525; there are other accounts of the disaster in Procopius, *Buildings* ii.7.2–12 (which also describes the repair work carried out by Justinian), and the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* (Witakowski pp. 41–3).

26 The regnal length and Antiochene year are correct. Marc. Com. *s.a.* and *Chron. Pasch.* 617:18–20 support the date of 1 April 527, though the Slavonic Malalas (the date is omitted from the notice in the Greek text: 422:9–19) and the brief account of the co-option ceremony in *De Cer.* i.95 have 4 April: following an illness, Justin had been urged by the senate to co-opt a colleague, and Justinian was crowned by Patriarch Epiphanius.

27 Evagrius has not explicitly stated that Justin had ordered the proclamation of Chalcedon, but this can be inferred from the description of events at Antioch in iv.4. Evagrius has

10 Now, whereas Justinian most resolutely supported those who had gathered at Chalcedon and what had been expounded by them, his consort Theodora upheld those who speak of one nature, whether because they did in truth hold these views – for when there is a proposal to discuss the faith, fathers are at odds with children, and children in turn with those who begat them, a wife with her own spouse and in turn again a husband with his own spouse – or because they had reached some sort of accommodation, so that he would support those who speak of two natures in Christ our God whereas she would do the same for those who advocate one nature. At any rate, then, neither made any concession to the other: but he most enthusiastically upheld what had been agreed at Chalcedon, while she sided with those on the opposite side and made every provision for those who speak of one nature; she both looked after local people and welcomed outsiders with considerable sums of money. She also persuaded Justinian to have Severus summoned.[28]

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anticipated somewhat in the allusion to episcopal disarray, since at Justinian's accession Timothy IV was still in control at Alexandria (517–35) and Epiphanius at Constantinople (520–35), though their respective successions caused problems. At Constantinople Anthimus was appointed patriarch in June 535 with the reputation for being a Chalcedonian, but soon came under the influence of Severus and proclaimed his agreement with the latter's doctrinal views (ps.-Zach. ix.21; for discussion of Anthimus, see Honigmann, *Studies* 185–93). At Alexandria Theodosius, a Severan Monophysite, had been installed in February 535 with the support of the empress Theodora, but he was driven from his see by the more extreme Gaianus (a Julianist, who believed in the incorruptibility of Christ's human flesh, even before the resurrection), who had strong support from the local population; Theodosius was only restored to office by imperial troops, after some bloodshed.

28 Theodora: *PLRE* III. 1240–1, *s.v.* Theodora 1; though opposed to Theodora on doctrinal grounds, Evagrius does not make any allusions to her colourful past.

Religious disagreement between the imperial pair is also reported by Procopius (*Secret History* 10.13–15; 27.12–13), who naturally placed an unfavourable interpretation on the discord as one aspect of the couple's policy of divide and rule. Although a Chalcedonian by birth and conviction, Justinian still made strenuous attempts to reconcile the Monophysites which are not fully recorded by Evagrius (e.g. the protracted negotiations in 532, or the Theopaschite Edict in 533). Theodora's Monophysite credentials are attested by John of Ephesus and later Monophysite writers: she provided accommodation in the Palace of Hormisdas for as many as 500 persecuted Monophysites 'from all quarters of the East and of the West, and Syria and Armenia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia, and Asia and Alexandria and Byzantium'; even Justinian on occasions came to see the holy men and receive their blessing (John of Ephesus, *Lives* 47, *PO* 18. 676–84).

Ps.-Zachariah (ix.19) refers to Theodora's enthusiasm for Severus, which ensured that Justinian gave him a friendly reception.

11 Now letters from Severus both to Justinian and to Theodora are preserved, from which it is possible to grasp that at first he deferred his journey towards the imperial city **[161]** after he had left the see of Antioch; later, however, he reached it.[29] And he has written that when he had come to the emperor's city, and met Anthimus, and found that he was very similar in doctrine and conception about God to himself, he persuaded him to stand down from his seat. He wrote about these matters to Theodosius, who was bishop of the Alexandrians' city, and in the letter he also boasted how he persuaded the same Anthimus, as has been said, to give preference to such doctrines over earthly glory and his own seat. Letters from Anthimus to Theodosius about this are also extant, and in turn from Theodosius to Severus and Anthimus, which I am omitting, leaving them to those who wish to read them, lest I pile up a boundless mass in the present work.[30]

Be that as it may, since they went against the emperor's commands and did not accept what was agreed at Chalcedon, both were expelled from their own sees, and Zoilus succeeded to that of Alexandria while Epiphanius to that of the imperial city; thereafter the Synod at Chalcedon was publicly proclaimed in all the churches, and no one dared to encompass it with anathema, while those who did not hold

29 Severus declined Justinian's summons to participate in the doctrinal discussions of 532 (a flattering letter of apology is preserved at ps.-Zach. ix.16), but he eventually came to the capital in 535.

30 Evagrius here summarizes the correspondence preserved at Ps.-Zachariah ix.23–6, which followed the crucial exchange between Anthimus and Severus at Constantinople (ps.-Zach. ix.21–2), whose substance Severus then relayed to Theodosius. The passage about preferring correct doctrine to earthly glory in fact comes near the start of Severus' reply to Anthimus' encyclical (ps.-Zach. ix.22), where he complimented the new patriarch on not permitting his elevation to divert him from the correct religion. Evagrius has both misplaced the allusion, and falsely accused Severus of boasting of his responsibility for Anthimus' resignation (cf. n. 31 below). Allen, *Evagrius* 172, overstates Evagrius' sympathy for Severus.

Evagrius is silent on Justinian's Theopaschite initiative, which was intended to resolve a dispute at Constantinople between different supporters of Chalcedon, on the one hand the Sleepless Monks who had led opposition to Zeno's Henoticon and Acacius (iii.18–21) but whose objections to contemporary neo-Chalcedonian views led to accusations of Nestorianism, and on the other the Scythian Monks who supported the formula 'One of the Trinity suffered': see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 315–55. This debate provided the focus for the emperor's attempts at religious unity in the 530s: see Meyendorff, *Unity* 224.

these views were coerced in innumerable ways to move towards its approval.[31]

Therefore, legislation was composed by Justinian in which he anathematized Severus and Anthimus along with others, and subjected to very great penalties those who advocated their doctrines. And so from that time no rupture still remained in the churches wherever they are located, but the patriarchs of each diocese are in agreement with one another, and the bishops of the cities follow their individual leaders; and throughout the churches four Synods **[162]** are proclaimed, first that at Nicaea, next that at Constantinople, third the first at Ephesus, fourth that at Chalcedon.[32] And a fifth Synod also took place at Justinian's command:

31 The realization that Anthimus was Monophysite provoked a storm of protest, with appeals being sent to Pope Agapetus in Rome after Anthimus refused to make any concessions in favour of Chalcedon. Agapetus arrived in Constantinople in March 536, partly on a diplomatic mission from the Ostrogothic king, Theodahad, to persuade Justinian to terminate military action in Sicily and Dalmatia, and Anthimus almost immediately resigned his see on the grounds of uncanonical election (since he had been transferred from the see of Trapezus). The new patriarch, Menas, was consecrated on 13 March; Epiphanius (520–35) had in fact been Anthimus' predecessor.

Theodosius of Alexandria was summoned to the capital in December 536; after the failure of a lengthy attempt to persuade him to accept Chalcedon, he was deposed and sent into exile in Thrace. His immediate sucessor was Paul the Tabennesiot (537–40), who had to resign after being involved in a murder charge, and he was succeeded by Zoilus, a Palestinian monk (540–51). Evagrius could no longer rely on Zachariah for information about episcopal successions, but he had not yet reached the period of which he had direct experience; the correct information should have been available in the patriarchal records at Antioch, but Evagrius presumably relied on his own imprecise memory.

The fiercest persecution of Monophysites is recorded in the Patriarchate of Antioch, where Ephrem was inspired to action, with enthusiastic support from Abraham bar Khaili, the bishop of Amida (ps.-Zach. x.1–2; John of Ephesus, *Lives* 5, *PO* 17. 95–105; 24, *PO* 18. 522–4): there were arrests, exiles, imprisonments, and some Monophysites were even burnt to death for their faith.

32 Following Anthimus' resignation, a Synod was held at Constantinople in May and June 536 at which he was declared to be heretical, while the condemnation of Severus was renewed. These decisions were confirmed in an imperial law issued on 6 August 536 (*Novel* 42), which also mentioned by name two of Severus' leading supporters and companions on his mission to Constantinople, Peter Bishop of Apamea, and the monk Zooras. Justinian commanded that Severus' writings, which were equated with the anti-Christian works of Porphyry, should be burnt: see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 315–55.

Evagrius' assertion that this measure ended the rupture in the churches is no more than superficially true, if that: Egypt, outside Alexandria and its immediate hinterland, remained under Monophysite control, and even in Syria persecution did not make all Monophysites submit. The removal of bishops and monastic leaders created a severe short-term problem,

concerning this I shall tell what is appropriate at the appropriate moments,[33] but for the meantime what occurred in succession during his time and is worthy of mention will be interwoven in the present history.

12 It has been written by Procopius the *rhetor* in composing his history concerning Belisarius, that Cabades the Persian king wished to confer the royal rule on his son Chosroes who was younger than his other sons; in agreement with Chosroes he planned to grant him to the Roman emperor as an adopted son, so that in consequence the affairs of his realm might be disposed most safely for him. Then, after they failed in this, at the instigation of Proclus who attended on Justinian in the capacity of *quaestor*, they extended to a greater degree their hatred towards the Romans.[34]

Accordingly the said Procopius has set forth most assiduously and elegantly and eloquently what was done by Belisarius, when he commanded the eastern forces, and by the Romans and Persians when they fought against each other. Now, he records a first victory for the Romans in the territory of Dara and Nisibis, when Belisarius and Hermogenes as well were disposing the Roman armies. To this he attaches all that happened in the country of the Armenians, and what Alamundarus, who was leader of the Scenite barbarians, wrought on the land of the Romans; that man indeed captured Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, together with the soldiers in his company, and subsequently gave them back for large sums of money.[35]

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but in 542 James Baradaeus and Theodore were consecrated as bishops and sent from Constantinople to the East, in the first instance to respond to a request for Monophysite clergy from the powerful Ghassanid king, al-Harith; thereafter James, in particular, consecrated bishops and clergy throughout the eastern provinces (Frend, *Rise* 284–8).

33 See iv.38 below.

34 *Wars* i.11.1–30. Of Kavadh's two elder sons, Kaoses was an adherent of the discredited Mazdakite movement and Zames was disqualified from kingship by the loss of an eye; both, however, had their supporters, hence Kavadh's attempt to secure external recognition for Khusro in 525/6. Proclus (*PLRE* II. 924–5, *s.v.* Proculus 5) was *quaestor* (chief legal adviser) for most of Justin I's reign; he argued that Khusro, as an adopted son, might lay claim to the Roman empire as his inheritance.

35 Evagrius has ignored the first three years of the war, as, largely, did Procopius. The battle at Dara in 530 is described at *Wars* i.13–14, and the Armenian campaign of the same year at i.15; the material about the Lakhmid al-Mundhir comes from a resumé of the Arab's earlier achievements against the Romans which is included in the 531 campaign (*Wars* i.17.40–6); the capture of the *dux Mesopotamiae* Timostratus (*PLRE* II. 1119–20) and his troops had occurred in the context of a frontier dispute in 523.

13 He also gives an emotional description **[163]** of the invasion of the land of the Romans by Alamundarus, whom I have already mentioned, and Azareth, and how, while they were making their withdrawal to their own land, Belisarius engaged them by the banks of the Euphrates on the eve of Easter day, under compulsion from his own army, and how the Roman army was destroyed because it did not accept the advice of Belisarius, and how Rufinus and Hermogenes arranged the so-called Endless Peace with the Persians.[36]

To this he adds the popular riot which occurred at Byzantium, to which the password of the demes has given its appellation: for as its name they call it 'The Nika', since when the demes were united with each other they gave this as a password for their mutual recognition. During this both Hypatius and Pompeius were forced into usurpation by the demes, but after the demes had been overcome they were both decapitated by the soldiers on Justinian's orders and cast into the sea. Procopius says that 30,000 people, indeed, perished in this affair.[37]

14 When the same man writes about the Vandals, very great events which are worthy of perpetual preservation in memory are set out, and these I proceed to relate. Huneric, on inheriting the kingship from Geiseric, being a devotee of the views of Arius, made most savage dispositions concerning the Christians in Libya who advocated the correct doctrines, compelling them to convert to the doctrine of the Arians. And those who did not submit he destroyed by fire and countless forms of death, while some he deprived of their tongues. Procopius said that he actually had occasion to see them when they came to the emperor's

36 The invasion of 531, which culminated in the Roman defeat at Callinicum on 19 April, is reported in *Wars* i.18, and the negotiations for the Endless Peace in 531–2 in *Wars* i.22. Evagrius seems unaware of the rather different account of Callinicum in Malalas 461:8–465:16, in which Belisarius' behaviour is much less sympathetically presented: cf. iv.5 with n. 13 above for the terminus of Evagrius' version of Malalas.

37 The Nika ('Victory') Riot of January 532, in which the Blue and Green circus factions ('demes') combined in a week-long orgy of violence, is reported at *Wars* i.24. For discussion, see Bury, *History* II. 39–48; Cameron, *Factions* 277–80; Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon* 112–26; Greatrex, 'Nika'.

These two chapters present a reasonable summary of those events of Justinian's reign described in *Wars* i (of which much is devoted to historical background and geographical descriptions): the two major battles in which Belisarius was involved are noted, as well as the Nika Riot; only the reference to al-Mundhir might seem disproportionate to his presence in Procopius' narrative.

city after escaping there, and he had a discussion with them while they spoke as if they had suffered nothing; and whereas their tongues had been cut out at the very root, their voice was clear and they conversed intelligibly, **[164]** a strange and wondrous miracle. They are also mentioned in a constitution of Justin. Two of these indeed lapsed, as the same Procopius records. For when they wanted to consort with women, they were deprived of their voice, since the grace of their martyrdom remained with them no longer.[38]

15 And he relates another marvellous action of the saviour God, Who effected a miracle among men alien in their religion but who acted piously in this case. He says that Cabaon was leader of the Moors near Tripolis:[39]

'This Cabaon', he says (for it is worth using his words, since he describes these matters too in a noteworthy way),

> when he learnt that the Vandals were taking the field against him, did as follows: first he instructed his followers to abstain from all injustice and food that is conducive to luxury and, especially, from contacts with women. After establishing two stockades, he himself encamped in the one with all the men while in the other he confined the women, and threatened that death would be the penalty if anyone went to the women's stockade. Then he sent spies to Carthage with these instructions: whenever the Vandals, as they were proceeding on campaign, committed outrages against any shrine which the Christians revere, they should observe what happened, but when the Vandals moved to another location they should do the exact opposite to the holy place from which those people had departed on their march. It is said that

38 The persecutions of Huneric (477–84) are described at *Wars* iii.8.1–4, though the description of the tongueless talkers is a rather free adaptation: Procopius does not actually claim to have 'had a discussion with them', but merely that the men were still around in Constantinople in his time (ἐντυγχεῖν could be translated more weakly as 'met', but I accept the stronger interpretation, as do BEL and Festugière, because of the context). He also does not mention the law of Justinian (not Justin), *Cod. Iust.* i.27.1, 4. Many more details of the persecution are recorded by Victor of Vita, including the story that certain people had their tongues and right hands cut off but remained capable of talking clearly – as an example, the subdeacon Reparatus is mentioned, who was held in high esteem by Zeno and Ariadne at Constantinople (Victor iii.30).

39 *Wars* iii.8.15–29, with a few minor variations noted in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*.

he also declared this, that although he was ignorant of the God whom the Christians revere, it was likely, he said, that if He was strong, as was stated, He would punish those who committed outrages but defend those who served Him. **[165]**

And so the spies, on coming to Carthage, remained quietly while they observed the Vandals' preparation, but when the army moved towards Tripolis, they followed it after dressing themselves in humble clothing. When the Vandals encamped on the first day they brought their horses and other animals into the Christians' shrines, refrained from no outrage, and themselves behaved with characteristic lack of restraint; they scourged whatever priests they captured and, after extensively lacerating their backs, they ordered them to wait on them. As soon as they had departed from there, Cabaon's spies did what he had instructed them: for they at once cleansed the shrines, removing with great care the dung and any other impurity that was lying there, they lit all the lamps, deferred to the priests with great reverence and greeted them with all other kindness; after giving silver to the beggars who were sitting round these shrines, they followed the Vandals' army in this way. And from this place all along their route the Vandals committed the same crimes and the spies ministered.

And when they were about to draw near, the spies went on ahead and announced to Cabaon all that had been done by the Vandals and by themselves to the shrines of the Christians, and that the enemy were somewhere close by. And on hearing this, he made ready for the encounter. And so most of the Vandals,' as he says, 'were destroyed,[40] but there were also some who came into the enemy's hands, and very few from this army returned home. These things it befell Thrasamund to suffer from the Moors; and he died later on, after ruling the Vandals for 27 years.[41] **[166]**

40 The details of Cabaon's battle array (Procopius, *Wars* iii.8.25–8) have been omitted; this is probably a deliberate omission, rather than a lacuna or scribal error, since the gap is probably signalled by the resumptive 'as he says'.

41 AD 496–523. Cabaon is not mentioned elsewhere, and the date of this campaign is unknown.

16 The same author records how Justinian, after announcing an expedition out of consideration for the Christians who were experiencing ill-treatment there, was being restrained from his purpose by the warnings of John, who was prefect of the court, and that a dream appeared to him commanding him not to shrink from the attack: for by defending the Christians he would destroy the affairs of the Vandals. Consequently he was emboldened and, during the seventh year of his reign, he sent Belisarius to the Carthaginian war at about the summer solstice; when the flagship put in at the promontory which is in front of the palace, Epiphanius the bishop of the city made the customary prayers and embarked on the flagship some of the soldiers whom he had just baptized.[42]

He also related the business of the martyr Cyprian which is worthy of narration; he says this, word for word:

> The Carthaginians especially revere Cyprian, a holy man. And outside the city beside the seashore they established for him a shrine, which is worthy of great fame; among other acts of veneration they also celebrate an annual festival, which in fact they call the Cypriana, and from him the sailors are accustomed to give a name that is the same as the festival to the stormy weather which I have just mentioned, since it is wont to strike at the season at which the Libyans have always had the habit of conducting this feast. When Huneric was king, the Vandals forcibly removed this shrine from the Christians, driving out the priests from there with great dishonour, and for the future reorganized it as belonging to the Arians. The Libyans were aggrieved and distressed by this, **[167]** but they say that Cyprian frequently visited in a dream and said that the Christians should not have the slightest concern about him, for in the progress of time he would be his own avenger.[43]

42 This paragraph summarizes the debate over the Vandal expedition between Justinian and the praetorian prefect, John the Cappadocian (*PLRE* III. 627–35, *s.v.* Ioannes 11), although in Procopius the dream appeared to an anonymous bishop, who then reported it to the emperor (*Wars* iii.10.1–21); Evagrius skips the details of the military preparations to focus on religious ceremonies connected with the departure in summer 533 (*Wars* iii.12.1–2). Festugière (378 n. 39) suggests that the newly baptized soldiers were meant to protect the flagship.

43 *Wars* iii.21.17–21, with variations noted in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*.

And the prediction came to pass in the time of Belisarius, after Carthage was made subject to the Romans by the general Belisarius in the 95th year of its captivity, when the Vandals had been completely outfought and the doctrine of the Arians was utterly driven from the land of the Libyans and the Christians had recovered their own shrines, in accordance with the prediction of the martyr Cyprian.[44]

17 These things too are recorded by the same man.[45] He says that when Belisarius came to Byzantium after defeating the Vandals, conveying the spoils and captives of the war, including Gelimer himself, the leader of the Vandals, a triumph was granted to him and he brought into the Hippodrome everything that was worthy of wonder. Among these there was a vast quantity of treasures, since Geiseric had plundered the palace at Rome, as I have previously described, when Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian who ruled the Western Romans, after being deprived of her husband and having her honour violated by Maximus, had sent for Geiseric with a promise to betray the city; on that occasion indeed, after burning Rome, he had brought Eudoxia together with her daughters to the Vandals' territories. Along with other treasures he had then plundered what Titus, the son of Vespasian, had brought to Rome after enslaving Jerusalem, the dedications that Solomon had made in reverence for God. In honour of Christ our God, Justinian had sent these back to Jerusalem, **[168]** paying appropriate respect to the divinity, and they were dedicated just as previously. Then Procopius says that Gelimer prostrated himself on the ground in the Hippodrome in front of the emperor's seat, where Justinian sat watching proceedings, and spoke

44 Procopius (*Wars* iii.21.22–5) records how the Arian priests had made all the preparations for the Cypriana festival just before the battle of Ad Decimum (the battle was fought on 13 September, the day before the festival of Cyprian); they abandoned the shrine at the news of the Vandal defeat, so that the Nicene clergy could walk in to recover the shrine and celebrate the festival in accordance with the prophecy (even before the conclusion of the war). Evagrius has composed his own version of the prophecy's fulfilment, relating to the overall defeat of the Vandals and the liberation of all churches. Carthage fell to the Vandals in 439, so the Justinianic reconquest in 533 did occur in the 95th year.

45 In contrast to the material on Cabaon and Cyprian in the two preceding chapters, this chapter is not introduced as a *verbatim* report from Procopius (*pace* Allen, *Evagrius* 186).

the sacred utterance in his own tongue: 'Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity.'[46]

18 He says something else too, which is not narrated at all before him, but is astonishing and surpasses every wondrous extreme. Now he narrates that the nation of Libyans, the Moors, settled in Libya after migrating from the land of Palestine, and that they are the people whom sacred scriptures record as Gergesites and Jebusites and the other nations which were conquered by Joshua the son of Nun. He proves that the story is true in all respects through a certain inscription, composed in Phoenician letters, which he says that he actually read: this was near a spring, where there are two columns made of white stone, on which this is carved: 'We are those who fled from the presence of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun.'[47]

And so he thus terminated these matters, with Libya again becoming subject to the Romans and contributing annual taxes as it had before.

Justinian is said to have restored a hundred and fifty cities in Libya, some of which were completely ruined, others largely so. And he renewed them to greater magnificence with surpassing beautification and adornments both in private and in public works, and with circuits of walls and other very great structures, by which cities are adorned and the Divinity propitiated, as well as water-conduits both for essential need and beauty, some of which were introduced for the first time since the cities had not had them before, while others in turn were brought back again to their ancient order.[48]

46 A brief summary of the account of Belisarius' triumph in 534 (Procopius, *Wars* iv.9.1–12), although Evagrius has introduced a long reference to his own account of the sack of Rome in 455 (ii.7); Gelimer's Biblical quotation is from Ecclesiastes 1.2.

47 A summary of Procopius, *Wars* iv.10.13–22 (who does not claim to have read the inscription).

In contrast to his treatment of Procopius *Wars* i, Evagrius' presentation of the Vandal wars almost completely ignores the military activity and concentrates instead on the various miraculous incidents which Procopius mentioned. Thus, far from distorting the boundaries of ecclesiastical history in order to incorporate secular narrative, Evagrius has in fact only incorporated those parts of the military history which suited his own religious purpose.

48 Procopius describes Justinian's works at Carthage, and other places in reconquered Africa, in *Buildings* vi.4–7; Evagrius did not know this work, and his source for this general description of Justinian's activities cannot be identified. Substantial repair work was needed

19 I proceed to tell also of what happened in Italy, **[169]** matters too which Procopius the *rhetor* has elaborated exceedingly clearly as far as his own times. Theoderic captured Rome, as I have previously recorded,[49] after utterly defeating its tyrant Odoacer, and became leader of the Roman realm. When he had measured out his life, his wife Amalasuntha assumed the guardianship of their common son, Atalarich, and directed the kingdom; she was a woman rather inclined to masculinity, and thus made provision for affairs. She first inspired Justinian with a desire for the Gothic war by sending ambassadors to him after a plot was devised against herself. And when Atalarich then departed from among men while still a very young man, Theodatus, a kinsman of Theoderic, assumed the rule of western affairs. But when Justinian had sent Belisarius to the western regions, he stood down from rule, since he was devoted rather to letters and had minimal experience of wars, while Vitigis, a most warlike man, was leader of the western forces.[50]

From the compositions of the same Procopius one can gather that when Belisarius reached the land of Italy Vitigis had abandoned Rome while Belisarius approached Rome with his army. The Romans most joyfully opened their gates and welcomed him, with its archbishop Silverius being especially responsible for achieving this since he sent to him Fidelius, who had been an associate of Atalarich. Without a battle, indeed, they surrendered the city to him. And Rome again came under Roman control after 60 years, on the ninth of Apellaeus which is called by Romans the month of December, in

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after the period of Vandal control, since the Vandals had deliberately slighted the fortifications at most cities, and had not spent money on the urban fabric or catholic churches.

49 Evagrius iii.27.

50 A very brief summary of Procopius, *Wars* v.2–11, which narrates Gothic history from the death of Theoderic (30 August 526), through the troubled regency of his daughter (*not* his wife) Amalsuintha (*PLRE* II. 65) on behalf of Theoderic's grandson, Athalarich (*PLRE* II. 175); the latter died on 2 October 534 (aged sixteen, so perhaps not 'very young': Allen, *Evagrius* 186, suggests that Evagrius was misled by a confused recollection of his eight-year reign); Amalasuintha then married Theoderic's nephew, Theodahad (*PLRE* II. 1067–8), with the intention of retaining power herself, but Theodahad had her arrested and killed; the murder presented Justinian with a reasonable pretext for war, and in 536 Belisarius landed in Italy and captured Naples after a siege; this prompted the Goths to depose the inactive Theodahad and proclaim Vitigis (*PLRE* III. 1382–6) as king in November 536.

the eleventh year of the emperor Justinian's direction of monarchical rule.[51]

The same Procopius records that, when the Goths **[170]** were besieging Rome, Belisarius, having a suspicion of treachery against the city's archbishop Silverius, transported him to Greece and appointed Vigilius as archbishop.[52]

20 At about the same time, as the same Procopius records, the Heruls, who had already crossed the river Danube while Anastasius was steering the Roman realm, after receiving generous treatment from Justinian, who granted them large sums of money, became Christians *en masse* and changed to a milder lifestyle.[53]

21 Then he relates Belisarius' return to Byzantium, and how he brought back Vitigis along with the spoils from Rome, Totila's acquisition of the Roman realm and how Rome again came under the Goths, that Belisarius after twice landing in Italy recovered Rome again, and how when the Persian war broke out Belisarius was again summoned back to Byzantium by the emperor.[54]

51 A summary of *Wars* v.14.4–5, 14. After Belisarius' capture of Naples, Vitigis decided not to devote his main forces to defending Rome, but he did install a Gothic garrison and urge the inhabitants to remember the benefits they had received from Theoderic, so that he did not entirely abandon the city. Belisarius entered Rome in December 536, while the Gothic garrison was allowed to withdraw.

52 *Wars* v.25.13. Vigilius, the papal representative (*apocrisarius*) at Constantinople, had hoped to succeed Agapetus as Pope in 536 and reached some sort of understanding with the empress Theodora about the attitude he would take to Chalcedon; however, before he could return to Italy, Silverius had already been chosen in June 536. Theodora apparently continued to scheme for the appointment of Vigilius, and during the Gothic siege of Rome in 537 accusations of treachery were produced and Silverius was deposed on 11 March, to be replaced by Vigilius on 29 March 537 (*Liber Pontificalis*, *Life* of Silverius).

53 A summary of *Wars* vi.14.28–36. The Heruls, a tribe renowned for their barbarous customs, which Procopius describes at some length, were among the troops which Narses brought to Italy in 538. The Herul king, Greps, was baptized at Constantinople on 6 January 528, with Justinian acting as godparent.

54 An extremely brief summary of events in Procopius. Belisarius returned to Constantinople in 540 (*Wars* vii.1), part of the reason being the war with Persia which had just broken out. The victorious campaigns of Totila (*PLRE* III. 1328–32), who became Gothic king in 541, occupy most of *Wars* vii; he captured Rome on 17 December 546, after a siege lasting one year (vii.20). Belisarius returned to Italy in 544, where he found it difficult to contain Totila's successes; there was, however, no difficulty about reoccupying Rome early

22 The same man narrates that the Abasgi were converted to milder behaviour about the same time and adopted the Christian doctrines, after the emperor Justinian had sent to them one of the palace eunuchs called Euphratas, an Abasgian by race, to prohibit anyone thereafter in that nation from being deprived of his genital organs, with nature being violated by the knife. For from them in general are appointed those who serve in the imperial bedchamber, who are customarily called eunuchs. Justinian also then constructed a shrine to the Mother of God among the Abasgi and appointed priests for them, with the result that they learnt the Christian doctrines most accurately.[55]

23 It is narrated by the same man that those who inhabit Tanais – the locals call Tanais the outflow from the Maiotic marsh as far as the Euxine Sea – importuned Justinian to dispatch a bishop to them, and Justinian effected the accomplishment of the request **[171]** and most gladly sent a priest to them.[56] The same man records most eloquently the expeditions of the Goths from Maiotis against the Roman land in the time of Justinian,[57] the severe earthquakes that occurred in Greece, that Boeotia and Achaea and the environs of the gulf of Crisaea were shaken and countless places and cities were levelled to the foundations, and that in many places there were chasms in the earth, some of which came together again while there are others which have still remained.[58]

24 He also relates the campaign of Narses, who was sent by Justinian to the country of Italy, how he overcame Totila and after him Teias, and

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in 548, since Totila had decided not to defend the city. Belisarius was again recalled in 548, when there was renewed danger that the conflict with Persia would flare up.

55 *Wars* viii.3.18–21. The Abasgi lived on the north-east coast of the Black Sea, between the Caucasus and the sea; they were converted at some point in the 540s.

56 The Tetraxite Goths, who lived near the Sea of Azov (the Maiotic marsh), had petitioned Justinian for a new bishop in 548: *Wars* viii.4.9–12.

57 These events in fact belong in the fifth century, when the Goths, displaced by the Huns, moved across the Danube and settled in the Balkans, sometimes serving the empire as federate troops but on other occasions supporting themselves by pillage, until they departed for Italy under Theoderic (*Wars* viii.5.13–14). It might wrongly be inferred from Evagrius that the raids were launched while the Goths were still near the Sea of Azov.

58 Earthquakes of 551/2: *Wars* viii.25.16–18.

how Rome was captured for a fifth time.[59] Now those who accompanied Narses say that he venerated the Divinity to such an extent with prayers and other pious acts, honouring too, as is proper, the Virgin and Mother of God, that she openly commanded him as to the moment when he ought to fight, and that he was not to begin an engagement before he received the sign from her.[60] There were other actions of Narses which are worthy of great fame, his conquest of Buselinus and Sindoald, and his acquisition in addition of most of the area as far as Ocean; these are related by Agathias the *rhetor*, though this has not yet reached us.[61]

25 The following things are also recorded by the same Procopius:[62] that when Chosroes realized that events in Libya and in Italy had turned out favourably for the Roman dominion, he was roused to extraordinary envy; and he made certain accusations against the Roman realm, saying that the truce had been contravened and the agreed peace broken. And first of all Justinian sent ambassadors to Chosroes, to persuade him not

59 Narses (*PLRE* III. 912–28, *s.v.* Narses 1) arrived in Italy in 552, and his campaigns during the rest of the year are described by Procopius, *Wars* viii.26, 28–35; Totila was defeated and killed at the battle of Busta Gallorum, and then Theia (*PLRE* III. 1224), Totila's successor as Gothic leader, at Mons Lactarius. The first capture of Rome, by Belisarius in 536 is recorded at iv.19 (see n. 51 above), the second and third captures, by Totila and then Belisarius again, at iv.21 (n. 54 above). Totila recaptured Rome in January 550, and it changed hands for the fifth time after Busta Gallorum.

60 The account of Narses' piety was not derived from Procopius; the switch is indicated by the reference to Narses' companions (*contra* Allen, *Evagrius* 186). For other evidence about Narses' religious views and concerns, see *PLRE* III. 926–8.

61 Butilinus (*PLRE* III. 253–4, *s.v.* Butilinus 1) was leader of the army of Franks which invaded Italy in 553 to support the Goths; after various successes, he was defeated at Capua by Narses in 554 (Agathias, *History* ii.6–9). Sindual (*PLRE* III. 1154–5) became leader of the Herul contingent in Italy in 553, and played a decisive part in Narses' victory at Capua, first by persuading his followers to participate in the battle in spite of the execution of one of their number, and then through his personal bravery; in 566, the Heruls in Italy rebelled and proclaimed Sindual king, but he was soon defeated and killed by Narses. The latter event was not recorded by Agathias, whose *History* terminated in 559, and Evagrius has perhaps conflated what he knew of Agathias' account with a separate report of Sindual's later revolt.

It is normal to place the date of composition of Agathias' *History* in about 580, since Agathias knew of the death of Khusro in 579, but did not mention that Maurice would become emperor in 582 (e.g. *PLRE* III. 23–5); if this is correct, it suggests that the production and circulation of texts, at least secular texts, within the empire was not all that rapid, since Evagrius was working more than a decade later.

62 There is no indication in Evagrius that he is now jumping back to the events of 540.

to break the endless peace between them, nor to violate the agreements, but that the disputes should be investigated and settled in some amicable way. But he says that Chosroes, beside himself with the envy that seethed within, accepted none of the good reasoning, **[172]** but invaded the Roman land with a great army in the thirteenth year of Justinian's direction of the Roman empire. And he records how Chosroes besieged and captured by siege the city of Sura, which lies on the banks of the Euphrates, after he had given the appearance of agreeing various terms, but acted quite differently to them with the most complete impiety, and paid no attention to the agreement, becoming master of the city by trickery rather than by war; and how he also burnt Beroe; and next too his attack on Antioch, when Ephrem was bishop of the city but had abandoned it since none of his objectives succeeded.[63] He is said to have saved the church and all its surroundings, by adorning it with holy dedications to be a ransom for it.[64]

And he also records and movingly expounds the capture of the city of Antiochus, which happened at the hands of the same Chosroes, and how Chosroes destroyed everything by killing and burning; and how he came to the neighbouring Seleucia and the suburb of Daphne, then too Apamea, when Thomas, a man most able in word and action, directed the ecclesiastical see there.[65] He wisely undertook, contrary to custom, to join Chosroes as a spectator of the chariot contest in the hippodrome, attending on and placating Chosroes in every way. And Chosroes asked him if he wished to watch him in his own city; and he is said to have stated truthfully that he had not the slightest pleasure in seeing Chosroes in his own city. And they say that Chosroes was indeed amazed, justly admiring the man's truthfulness.[66]

63 A summary of *Wars* ii.1–7, where the preliminaries to the resumption of war in the East and the opening of Khusro's invasion in 540 are reported; Ephrem's objectives are not entirely clear, but this probably refers to his plans to save Antioch from attack, which were thwarted when an emissary from Justinian forbade the payment of ransoms to the Persians and accused the bishop of treachery; Ephrem thereafter withdrew to Cilicia (*Wars* ii.7.16–18).

64 Procopius (*Wars* ii.9.17–18) mentions that, when Khusro was issuing orders to burn the city, he was persuaded to spare the church in return for all the wealth carried away from it (hence its ransom); Evagrius has here expanded on the information in Procopius to assert that Ephrem had deliberately left the treasures in the church.

65 A summary of *Wars* ii.8–11.

66 Procopius mentions the chariot racing (*Wars* ii.11.31–5), when Khusro intervened in the race to ensure that the Green team won rather than the Blues, whom he knew Justinian

26 And since we have reached this point of the narrative, I shall tell of the miracle which occurred there, which is worthy of the present narrative. **[173]** When the sons of the Apameans learnt that the city of Antiochus had been destroyed by fire,[67] they implored the aforementioned Thomas to bring forth and display, contrary to custom, the saving and life-giving Wood of the Cross, so that for the last time they might see and kiss the sole salvation of mankind and receive a passage to the other life, since the precious Cross would convey them to the better estate. Thomas in fact did this and brought out the life-giving Wood, after announcing stated days for the display so that it would also be possible for all those in the vicinity to assemble and enjoy the salvation from it.

Now those who brought me to light also attended along with the rest, and brought me along (I was attending an elementary teacher). Then when we were privileged to adore and kiss the precious Cross, Thomas raised both hands and revealed the Wood of the Cross which wiped out the ancient curse, parading around the whole of the sacred shrine as was customary on the days appointed for adorations. A great mass of fire followed Thomas as he moved, which gleamed but did not consume, so that the whole place where he stood and revealed the precious Cross appeared to be ablaze. And this happened not once, not twice, but very often as the priest walked around the whole space there and the assembled populace importuned Thomas to do this. This indeed prophesied for the Apameans the salvation that occurred. Accordingly an image was set up in the roof of the church, which by its depiction made these matters known to the ignorant; this was preserved down to the attack of Adarmaanes and the Persians, but was burnt together with the holy church of God there along with the whole city. And these events happened thus.[68]

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supported; but Evagrius has derived the information about Bishop Thomas' presence at the games and his spirited quip from another source, presumably local tradition. The remains of Apamea in the sixth century are gradually being revealed through the excavations directed by J. and J. C. Balty.

67 For the periphrasis 'sons of . . .', cf. n. 15 above, and. i.20 with n. 175.

68 The miraculous display of the Cross is also reported by Procopius (*Wars* ii.11.16–20), though he implies that there was only a single display for the inhabitants of Apamea immediately before the arrival of Khusro's army; Evagrius would have been aged four or five at the time, and presumably had a vivid memory of the dramatic experience (though Procopius' account, and perhaps also the picture in the church could jog this, if necessary). Apamea's fragment of the Cross was sufficiently famous for Justin II to demand its transfer to

But at his departure Chosroes contravened what had been agreed, since it seemed right at the time, and did other things which accorded with his unsteady and unstable character, **[174]** but which were quite unsuitable for a rational man and still less for a king who keeps account of what has been agreed.[69]

27 The same Procopius also records what is narrated by men of old concerning Edessa and Agbar, and that Christ wrote to Abgar, and then that Chosroes settled down to another siege attack on the Edessenes, with the intention of annulling what was rumoured by the faithful, namely that Edessa would never come into enemy control: this is not included in what was written to Agbar by Christ our God, as the enthusiastic can grasp from the narratives of Eusebius son of Pamphilus, who quoted the actual letter *verbatim*. But thus is it celebrated and believed by the faithful, and it then received fulfilment, as faith brought about an accomplishment of prophecy.[70] For after the attack on the city when Chosroes effected innumerable assaults, and piled up a great mound so

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Constantinople; after fierce local objections he had to settle for half, though the other half was also removed to the capital after Adarmahan burnt the city in 573 (Menander fr. [17]; Michael the Syrian, x.1, II p. 285).

Granted that Khusro thoroughly pillaged Apamea, the allusion to the inhabitants' salvation is optimistic; they were not, however, massacred or transported into exile.

69 According to Procopius (*Wars* ii.11.24–7), it was immediately on entering the city that Khusro forgot the agreements under which he had been allowed into the city without a fight, and ordered the bishop to collect all valuables within the city.

For other unstable royal figures, cf. Geiseric (ii.7, p. 54:24) and Zeno (iii.1); by contrast Maurice had the personal stability to cope with external instability (vi.17).

70 The story of Abgar of Edessa occupies much of *Wars* ii.12, with the account of the letter at 12.20–30. The earliest version of the letter is in Eusebius, *EH* i.13, which is described as an exact translation from the Syriac: this promised Abgar that one of Christ's disciples would come to Edessa and cure his affliction (gout), but did not include the promise of the city's safety. Procopius, too, knew that the promise was a later addition, but suggested that God felt an obligation to preserve the trust which believers placed in the alleged undertaking. For Procopius, the letter explained the citizens' confidence in the face of Khusro's approach in 540; the Persian army first lost its way, and then Khusro's face swelled up when he eventually managed to approach the city; as a result, he was content to accept a ransom of 200 pounds of gold (without starting a siege) and continue his journey back to Persia.

The protecting letter is also mentioned in the context of Kavadh's attack on the city in 503, when the sceptical Arab leader Numan also suffered from a swollen face, from which he died (Joshua the Stylite ch. 58; cf. also ch. 5).

that it even overtopped the city's walls, and contrived innumerable other devices, he made his withdrawal without any achievement. But I will tell you what happened.[71]

Chosroes instructed his forces to gather from whatever wood was available a great quantity of timber for the siege. When this had been collected even more quickly than the command, he disposed this in a circle and placed the earth in the centre, and proceeded towards the city, facing it. As he thus gradually enlarged it with timbers and earth and approached the city, he raised it to such a height that it overreached the wall, with the result that they could hurl missiles from a superior position onto those on the wall risking their lives for the city. Now, when those enduring the siege saw the mound approaching nearer the city like a moving mountain and that the enemy were expecting to walk into the city on foot, at dawn they contrived **[175]** to construct a subterranean channel opposite the mound (which the Romans call *agesta*), and to introduce fire from there, so that the timbers, when consumed by the flames, might bring down the mound to the ground.[72] And the work was completed, but when they applied the flame their plan failed, since the fire did not have a passage from which it might receive air and get a hold on the wood. So, when they came to complete despair, they brought the divinely created image, which human hands had not made, the one that Christ the God sent to Agbar when he yearned to see Him. Then, when they brought the all-holy image into the channel they had created and sprinkled it with water, they applied some to the pyre and the timbers. And at once the divine power made a visitation to the faith of those who had done this, and accomplished what had previously been impossible for them: for at once the timbers caught fire and, being reduced to ashes

71 Evagrius now jumps to the siege of 544, described by Procopius in *Wars* ii.26–7; Evagrius has ignored the various negotiations between Khusro and the besieged in order to focus attention on the siege mound and its miraculous destruction (the point of the whole chapter).

72 The construction of the siege mound, which began on the eighth day of the siege, and the Roman counter-measures, are described in greater detail by Procopius, *Wars* ii.26.23–27.7; according to Procopius, the mound (which he also calls an *agesta*, i.e. *agger*) began as a square construction, which was then extended towards the city in spite of sallies and bombardments by the defenders. The first Roman mine was detected by the attackers, but excavation of a lower chamber was successful; the initial firing only burnt a part of the mound, and the Romans had to feed extra supplies of wood into the chamber to keep the fire blazing.

quicker than word, they imparted it to what was above as the fire took over everywhere.[73]

And when those oppressed by the siege saw the smoke billowing up, they devised the following stratagem: bringing small flasks and filling them with sulphur together with hemp and other easily combustible materials, they catapulted them down onto the so-called *agesta*; these emitted smoke, since the fire was ignited by the force of the projection, and caused the smoke which was coming up from the mound to pass unnoticed. Thus all those who did not know supposed that the smoke came rather from the flasks, and not from elsewhere. And so on the third day after this, little tongues of fire were seen being emitted from the earth, and then the Persians fighting on the mound understood what sort of trouble they were in. But Chosroes, as if opposing the divine power, attempted to quench the pyre by directing against it the water conduits which were outside the city. But it received the water as if it were oil, rather, or sulphur, or one of the normally inflammable materials, and grew greater **[176]** until it brought down the whole mound and burnt the *agesta* completely to

73 Procopius does not mention the miracle of the icon of Christ, and Evagrius indeed is the first source to refer to this famous *acheiropoietos* image ('not made by human hands'), the Mandylion of Edessa: for discussion, see Averil Cameron, 'Sceptic', 'Mandylion'. Cameron argued that Procopius' silence indicates that the story of the icon's miraculous intervention was subsequently grafted onto the primary account of the city's heroic resistance; Allen (*Evagrius* 189) regarded the circumstantial detail in Evagrius as an indication of a written or eye-witness source. There is no evidence to permit this disagreement to be resolved, but it is worth noting that there is a comparable story in Theodoret (*EH* v.21) about problems in firing a trench under a temple at Apamea; these were overcome when the bishop gave the workman some holy water which had been placed on the altar in church and told him to sprinkle it on the wood he was trying to light.

Procopius does record that there were problems at Edessa in trying to get the timber in the mine to ignite the mound, and it is not impossible that every holy object in the city was exploited to assist the process. If an icon was brought to bless the efforts of the defenders against the mound, which, interestingly, Procopius introduces as a *lophos cheiropoietos*, literally 'a mound made by human hands', or 'a man-made structure' (*Wars* ii.26.23), the achievement perhaps subsequently gave the successful image its *acheiropoietos* reputation. Evagrius knew Theodoret's *History*, and would have appreciated the conceit of the human structure in Procopius being unmade by the unhuman; he might have exploited Theodoret to improve the account of events at Edessa, and so perhaps deserves some credit for the establishment of the reputation of the Mandylion.

For discussion of Chrysostomides' rejection of Evagrius' testimony, which she regards as an invention of the late eighth century, see Appendix II.

ashes.[74] And so then Chosroes, having failed in all his hopes and realizing through these deeds that he had incurred great shame for having supposed that he would prevail over the God who is revered by us, made his departure to his own parts ingloriously.[75]

28 What was done by Chosroes on another occasion against the city of the Sergiopolitans will also be told, since it is both remarkable and truly appropriate for its memory to be preserved for ever. Chosroes approached this city too, eager to besiege it. And so when he made an attempt on the walls, discussions concerning the saving of the city were held between the two parties, and they made an agreement that the sacred treasures should be a ransom for the city; among these was included also a cross which had been sent by Justinian and Theodora. When these things had been carried off, Chosroes asked the priest and the Persians who had been sent with him whether there was anything else. One of those who is not in the habit of telling the truth said to Chosroes that there were other treasures as well, which had been hidden away by the citizens, who were few in number. Although from the offerings there had been left no treasure, either of gold or of silver, there was one of a more efficacious substance that was dedicated once and for all to God, namely the all-holy relics of the victorious martyr Sergius which lay in one of the oblong coffins which is covered in silver. But when Chosroes, convinced by this, released his whole army on the city, suddenly myriad shields appeared on the circuit wall to defend the city; on seeing this those sent by Chosroes turned back, astounded at the number and describing the armament. When Chosroes learnt, on enquiring further, that extremely few people remained in the city, and they were very old or very young since those in the bloom of youth had departed, he realized that the miracle came from the martyr; and in fear and amazement

74 Evagrius returns to Procopius for the account of the destruction of the mound (*Wars* ii.27.8–17), though adding the reference to the third day and that Khusro diverted the city aqueducts against the fire. In Procopius the Persians pour on water, but this merely served to stimulate the bitumen and sulphur inside the mound (ii.27.14); Evagrius has adapted this, perhaps influenced by the parallel story in Theodoret, so that the water becomes like oil in assisting the combustion.

75 Procopius, *Wars* ii.27.28–46, describes three further Persian assaults, of which two came close to penetrating the defences, before Khusro agreed to withdraw in return for a payment of 500 pounds of gold; Evagrius chose to highlight the divinely assisted destruction of the mound as the culmination of the siege.

at the faith of the Christians he retired to his own land.[76] **[177]** They say that at his final breath he indeed was honoured with the sacred rebirth.[77]

29 I will also give a description concerning the disease which struck and has remained strong and spread over the whole earth in this its 52nd year, a thing never before reported. For, two years after the city of Antiochus was captured by the Persians, a pestilent affliction took up residence, in some respects comparable to that related by Thucydides but in others very different. It was said, and still is now, to have begun from Ethiopia.[78] In turn it overran the whole universe, leaving none among

76 For comprehensive discussion of the development of the cult of Sergius, the martyr shrines and the site of Sergiopolis (Resafa) in general, see Elizabeth Fowden, *Plain* ch. 3; its location at the intersection of several long-distance routes was of considerable economic and strategic significance, and the devotion of the Ghassanid Arabs to Sergius increased its importance further. Khusro's attack on Sergiopolis in 542 is described by Procopius, *Wars* ii.20.5–16: Candidus, the city's bishop, had agreed to ransom the captives from Sura in 540, but had been unable to provide the money; he now told Khusro to take the treasures from Sergius' shrine, but these proved insufficient to satisfy the king so that an army was sent to capture Sergiopolis; although there were only 200 soldiers inside the city, the Persians were unable to penetrate the defences and had to abandon the attack when their water ran out. Discussion of defences in Whitby, 'Notes' 102–5, and for the water supply see also Elizabeth Fowden, *Plain* 71–3, 94–5.

Evagrius' account is rather different, and clearly does not depend on Procopius; the central point of his story is the vision of the supernatural defenders, a miracle which can be paralleled from other city-protecting saints, e.g. Demetrius of Thessalonica (*Miracula* ii.3, §222), or Alexander of Drizipera (Theophylact vi.5.6–7).

According to Procopius, Khusro continued his invasion after leaving Sergiopolis, with the intention of ravaging Palestine, but was persuaded to retire when Belisarius threatened his line of retreat (*Wars* ii.21).

77 Khusro's high regard for the Christian faith is described by John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.20; cf. also Sebeos 2); John of Nikiu records that late in life he was baptized at a bath house (ch. 95.23–5). For Khusro II's interest in Christianity, see vi.18 with n. 63 below.

78 Bubonic plague first appeared in the empire in Egypt in autumn 541, and in the following year spread to the Near East and Constantinople; Evagrius concluded his history in 593/4 (vi.22), the 52nd year from 542. Procopius (*Wars* ii.22–3) described at length the impact of the plague, especially at Constantinople, where the enormous problem of the disposal of corpses attracted his attention, as it did that of John of Ephesus (*EH*, fragments of part ii: a summary of John's information is most readily available in Conrad, 'Plague' 144–7), but Evagrius' account was based on his own personal experience (see below). The plague continued to recur for about two centuries, until a final major attack in 747.

The plague at Athens in 430 BC was described by Thucydides ii.47–54; his account served as a literary model for Procopius so that resemblances between the afflictions, and more

men without some experience of the disease. And whereas some cities were stricken to such an extent that they were completely emptied of inhabitants, there were parts where the misfortune touched more lightly and moved on. And neither did it strike according to a fixed interval, nor having struck did it depart in the same manner: but it took hold of some places at the beginning of winter, others while spring was in full swing, others in the summer time, and in some places even when autumn was advancing.[79] And there were places where it affected one part of the city but kept clear of the other parts, and often one could see in a city that was not diseased certain households that were comprehensively destroyed. And there are places where, although one or two households were destroyed, the rest of the city has remained unaffected; but as we have recognized from precise investigation, the households which remained unaffected have been the only ones to suffer in the following year.[80] But what is more extraordinary than everything is that if it happened that inhabitants of afflicted cities were living somewhere else where the misfortune had not struck, those people alone caught the

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especially in the reactions of the stricken population, might creep into the tradition. The Athenian plague, however, was not bubonic (and indeed its identity is much disputed).

Procopius (*Wars* ii.22.6) says that the plague began in Pelusium in Egypt. Allen, *Evagrius* 190, suggests that the connection with Ethiopia reflects traditional prejudice about the origins of diseases, but this may be too sceptical; Zinsser, *Rats* 145, whom Allen cites in support, merely refers to 'a sort of ancient and traditional suspicion', without documentation. As parallels for a southern origin, Dio lxxvi.13.1 records that in 200 Septimius Severus was prevented from crossing from Egypt to Ethiopia by plague; Zonaras xii.21 (vol. II. 590:9–13) describes a plague which spread from Ethiopia to the whole empire in the 250s. For discussion of Central / East Africa as one of the major natural reservoirs of plague in the ancient world, and of the factors which contributed to its eruption in the 540s, see Keys, *Catastrophe* ch. 2.

There is a large literature on the sixth-century plague: in addition to Conrad, 'Plague' and Keys, *Catastrophe,* see Allen, 'Plague', *Evagrius* 190–4; Sallares, *Ecology* 263–71; Whitby, 'Recruitment' 93–9.

79 Evagrius may here be tacitly correcting Procopius, who said that the plague seemed to move by fixed arrangement, and to remain for a specified time in each region (*Wars* ii.22.7). The flea which carries bubonic plague is most active in warm and humid conditions, so that in the Mediterranean plague tends to be most virulent in summer (Sallares, *Ecology* 270).

80 Cf. Procopius, *Wars* ii.22.8, for the plague returning to places which it had only lightly touched first time round.

misfortune – namely those people from cities that had been overcome who were resident in the unaffected cities.[81]

And often this occurred to cities and other places in the rotations of the cycles that are called indictions. But an almost complete extermination **[178]** struck mankind especially in the first or second year of the fifteen-year cycle. This indeed befell me, who has composed these things – for I decided to interweave my own affairs also into the narrative, attaching appropriate matters where appropriate. And so at the outset of this great misfortune I was affected by what are called buboes while I was still attending the elementary teacher, but in the various subsequent visitations of these great misfortunes I lost many of my offspring and my wife and other relatives, and numerous servants and estate dwellers, as if the indictional cycles divided out the misfortunes for me. Thus as I write this, while in the 58th year of my life, not more than two years previously while for the fourth time now the misfortune struck Antioch, when the fourth cycle from its outset had elapsed, I lost a daughter and the son she had produced, quite apart from the earlier losses.[82]

The misfortune was composed of different ailments. For in some it began with the head, making eyes bloodshot and face swollen, went down to the throat, and dispatched the victim from among men. In others a flux of the stomach occurred. While in some buboes swelled up, and thereafter violent fevers; and on the second or third day they died, with intellect and bodily constitution the same as those who had suffered nothing. Others became demented and put aside life. And indeed carbuncles sprang up and obliterated men. And there are cases

81 There is no confirmation for this rather surprising assertion, which is not in Procopius; the phenomenon would support Evagrius' belief that the plague was under divine control.

82 Recurrences of bubonic plague of varying intensity were to be expected as new generations became accessible to the disease. In the century after its first outbreak the plague returned, on average, about once every 14 years (evidence usefully collected in Conrad, 'Plague' 149–51), which is surprisingly close to Evagrius' correlation with the indictional cycle. There is, however, little to support his contention that the first two years of each cycle were the most at risk, since the plague first struck in a fifth indiction (541/2) and the fourth occurrence at Antioch was in a tenth indiction (591/2); counting inclusively, the most recent episode was in the fourth indiction cycle (537–52; 552–67; 567–82; 582–97) from the first outbreak. Evagrius will have been about six when he caught the plague; like the emperor Justinian he was one of the fortunate survivors.

where men were afflicted once or twice and escaped, but perished when afflicted again.[83]

And the ways in which it was passed on were various and unaccountable.[84] For some were destroyed merely by being and living together, others too merely by touching, others again when inside their bedchamber, and others in **[179]** the public square. And some who have fled from diseased cities have remained unaffected, while passing on the disease to those who were not sick. Others have not caught it at all, even though they associated with many who were sick, and touched many not only who were sick, but even after their death. Others who were indeed eager to perish because of the utter destruction of their children or household, and for this reason made a point of keeping company with the sick, nevertheless were not afflicted, as if the disease was contending against their wish. So then, as I have said, this misfortune has been prevalent up to the present for 52 years, surpassing all previous ones. For Philostratus is amazed that the plague in his time prevailed for fifteen years.[85] And what will follow is unclear, since it moves to the place where God will ordain, since He knows both the causes and where they lead. But I will return to my point of departure, and will tell the rest of the events under Justinian.

30 Justinian was insatiable for money and was so extraordinarily enamoured of the possessions of others that he even sold all his subjects for gold, to those who administer the offices, and who collect taxes, and who without any reason wish to stitch together plots against men. Many, indeed innumerable, men of substantial property he deprived of all their possessions, painting on excuses without excuse. If even a prostitute, casting envious eyes, invented some relationship or intercourse with someone, immediately all legal matters were set aside and by taking

83 Procopius describes the symptoms and course of the disease at greater length (*Wars* ii.22.10–39), emphasizing the prevalence of bubonic swellings and mentioning the characteristic black pustules of the plague. Evagrius' evidence suggests that the plague, although predominantly bubonic, also had septicaemic and pneumonic strains, which would have caused death quite rapidly and without the tell-tale buboes.

84 Cf. Procopius, *Wars* ii.22.33–4, for the causes of the disease being unfathomable for human reasoning.

85 This is probably a reference to the Philostratus who composed the *Life of Apollonius* and *Lives of the Sophists* in the late second or early third century; he was presumably referring to the epidemic which swept the empire during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, from 166/7 onwards.

Justinian as her companion in the criminal gain she transferred to herself the entire wealth of the maliciously accused man.[86] But he was also unstinting with his money: as a result he everywhere raised up magnificent holy churches and other pious houses for the care of men and women, both the very young **[180]** and very old, and those who were troubled by various diseases; and he allocated great revenues, from which these had to support themselves. And he did a myriad other things which are pious and pleasing to God, provided that those who accomplish these should carry them out from their own resources and bring their actions to fruition in a pure manner.[87]

31 And in the city of Constantine he also set up many shrines to the divinity and to the saints which were beautifully elaborated.[88] But there was one great and incomparable object that he built, such as has never before been reported, the largest ecclesiastical sanctuary, impressive and famous and surpassing the power of speech. I will attempt, as far as is in my power, to delineate the precinct.[89] The shrine of the temple has

86 Justinian's insatiable greed is one of the main themes of Procopius' *Secret History*, e.g. 8.9–11, 11.3–4, 11.40–12.13, 19.1–12 (robbery of subjects by various devices, with the Nika Riot, in particular, being exploited against men of property); 13.21–3, 14.7–23 (manipulation of laws); 20–2 (corrupt officials). There is no evidence, however, that Evagrius knew the *Secret History* (*contra* Jeep, 'Quellenuntersuchungen' 161), and these allegations were simply part of the common criticism of the Justinianic regime; cf. John Lydus, *De Mag.* iii.68–70 for the unpopularity of John the Cappadocian's exactions, which contributed to the outbreak of the Nika Riot. Cf. the greed of Justin II (v.1, pp. 195:20–196:1), and contrast the praise of the generosity of Marcian (ii.1, p. 38:10–13) and Tiberius (v.13, p. 209:14–26). The rhetorical word-play in this chapter is characteristic of such analyses of imperial qualities (cf. also iii.1 on Zeno's faults).

87 Justinian's construction of numerous churches and other religious buildings (e.g. the Hospice of Samson at Constantinople) occupies a major part of Procopius' panegyrical *Buildings*. In the *Secret History* there is criticism of Justinian's extravagance, but mainly with regard to his generous payments to foreigners in the unrealized hope of maintaining peace; expenditure on building works is only mentioned twice (11.3; 26.23), and on each occasion the target is the cost of senseless buildings constructed over the sea. Evagrius acknowledges Justinian's achievements as a builder but also denies him full credit, especially in the two-edged final sentence.

88 For descriptions, see Procopius, *Buildings* i.1.

89 The Church of S. Sophia had been one of the casualties of the Nika Riot, and Justinian moved quickly to reconstruct it as a demonstration of his respect for God and the security of his imperial power. The new building was dedicated in 537, but the dome was cracked in the earthquake of 557 and partially collapsed in 558, while repairs were being attempted; the dome was rebuilt to a slightly different design, being rather taller than the

a dome supported on four arches, raised up to such a great height that for those gazing from below the terminus of the hemisphere is hard to attain,[90] while those who are up above would never attempt, even if they were exceptionally daring, to lean over and cast their eyes towards the ground. The arches are raised up clear from the foundations to the roof covering.[91] And both on the right and to the left columns made of Thessalian marble are arrayed in them, and these support galleries which have other similar columns, providing for those who want to look down on the rituals.[92] It is from there that the empress, when she is present at the festivals, observes the celebration of the mysteries. The arches towards the rising and setting sun have thus been left open, so that there is no impediment to the wonder of such an enormous magnitude. Underneath the aforementioned galleries there

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original so that the lateral thrust was reduced, and the reconstructed building was ready for rededication at Christmas 562 (see Mary Whitby, 'Occasion'). It is this reconstruction which Evagrius describes (as shown by his figure for the height of the dome).

Procopius, *Buildings* i.1, described the building and some of the construction problems; Evagrius' account is not absolutely clear, partly because he attempts to paint a narrative picture with language suitable for the grandeur of his theme, partly perhaps because his knowledge of the church was based on a few visits in 588 to supplement his youthful acquaintance in the 550s (though he did also secure reasonably accurate details of its dimensions, see n. 95 below).

90 I.e. they cannot make out easily where the apex of the dome is. Mango (*Art* 79) translates this as being hard 'to comprehend how the cupola was completed', but the parallel clauses of the problems facing those looking up and down suggest that it is just the distance that is at issue.

91 'Clear', literally 'empty', κεναὶ. Evagrius here makes a general statement about all four arches, which he then subdivides into the northern and southern, where columns support galleries, and the eastern and western arches, which are completely open. This makes the sense of this sentence difficult, since two of the arches cannot strictly be described as 'empty': the key point is, perhaps, that all four arches rested entirely on the massive corner piers, since the galleries under the north and south arches did not contribute to their structural support; the north and south arches were 'open' in the sense that the galleries did not have a solid façade facing into the church, and were topped by a large hemispherical window area immediately under the apex of the arch.

92 This refers to the two tiers of columns of green Thessalian marble on the north and south sides of the church: the massive lower tier supported the gallery, and the rather smaller second tier which supported the gallery roof and defined the openings through which those in the gallery could watch proceedings below.

are colonnades which round off this great achievement with columns and small arches.[93]

But so that the marvel of its construction may be clearer, I have decided to include the dimensions of its length, breadth and height as well as the span and height of its arches.[94] These are as follows: now the length from the door opposite the sacred apse where the **[181]** bloodless sacrifice is celebrated as far as the apse itself is 190 feet, while the breadth north to south is 115 feet, and the drop from the centre of the dome to the foundations is 180 feet; as for the arches the breadth of each is [. . .] feet, while the length from east to west is 260 feet; the width of the open area between them is 75 feet.[95] Towards the setting sun there are also two other splendid colonnades, and on all sides open air courts are beautifully executed.[96] The shrine of the Holy Apostles, which does not willingly grant precedence to any other building, was also constructed by him: in it the emperors and the clergy receive due burial.[97] And so concerning these and similar matters this is about enough.

93 The crucial word in this sentence is ἔνερθε, 'underneath', which indicates that Evagrius is dealing with the ground floor (as opposed to colonnades in the galleries, as Mango, *Art* 80).

94 Evagrius now switches from an obscure verbal picture to a more prosaic, but still problematic, list of figures.

95 For discussion of the dimensions, see Mango, *Art* 80 n. 116. The length of 190 feet from west door to apse can only refer to the distance as far as the opening of the two exedrae on either side of the apse, since the overall length from west door to the end of the apse is 260 feet (1 Roman foot = 0.309 metre); it is confusing that this overall figure is included within the section devoted to the arches, and if one were to be charitable to Evagrius one might suspect some textual corruption at this point. The breadth of the nave from north to south colonnade is only 105 feet, and Evagrius is either mistaken or his figure has been corrupted; the figure for the height of the dome is accurate. The figure for the breadth of the arches has dropped out of the text (there is space for about eight letters), but might have been 100; the open area of 75 feet denotes the east–west space between the piers above which the galleries are located.

96 At the west end of the church stood the narthex and exonarthex, and beyond them a large atrium.

97 Justinian's reconstruction of the Holy Apostles is described by Procopius, *Buildings* i.4.9–18, who noted that in certain respects it resembled S. Sophia in design, but was inferior in size: this is the point of Evagrius' reference to it not willingly granting precedence to other buildings, since its status as the second church of the capital made it superior to everything else (Festugière's interpretation, 394, that the building does not want to give primacy to any particular Apostle, is untenable). For its use as an imperial and patriarchal mausoleum, see Grierson, 'Tombs'.

32 Justinian possessed another quality which surpassed the character of any beast – whether this was a defect of nature, or the product of cowardice and fear, I am unable to say; it took its origin from the popular riot, the Nika.[98] For he appeared to be so utterly attached to one of the factions, namely the Blues, that they even carried out murders of their opponents in broad daylight and in the city centre; not only did they not fear penalties, but they were even granted rewards, so that many men therefore became assassins. They were also able to attack houses and plunder the valuables stored inside and to sell people their personal safety, and if any of the officials attempted to prevent this he found his own safety in danger.[99] As a result, for example, one who had charge of the Eastern realm, because he had disciplined some of the rioters with whips, was himself lacerated with whips and paraded about in the very centre of the city.[100] And as for Callinicus, the governor of the Cilicians, because he had delivered to the penalties of the laws two Cilician assassins, Paul and Faustinus, who had jointly attacked him and wanted to do away with him, **[182]** he was impaled and paid this penalty for a correct understanding and the laws.[101] Hence those of the other faction, abandoning their homes, were welcomed by no man, but rather were driven off from everywhere

98 Justinian's enthusiastic patronage for the Blues in fact long antedated the Nika Riot in January 532 (for which see, iv.13), and he seems to have tolerated, if not encouraged, a reign of terror under Justin I in order to intimidate possible rivals for the succession. In 527 he had issued an edict which attempted to restore peace in the cities (Malalas 422:15–21). The massive casualties of the Nika Riot produced a period of relative calm in Constantinople, but the last decade of Justinian's reign was troubled by several disturbances.

For imperial cowardice, cf. criticisms of Zeno: iii.3, p. 100:15–19, and Justin II:vi. p. 196:1.

99 Justinian's patronage of the Blue faction, and the violent behaviour he was prepared to tolerate, are described at Procopius, *Secret History* 7. His bias is reflected in the messages sent to the factions in 565 by Justin II, to the Blues that Justinian was dead, and to the Greens that he was still alive (Theophanes 243:4–9).

100 This incident involving a *comes Orientis* (rather than a praetorian prefect of the East, as Festugière 394) is not otherwise recorded, perhaps because it occurred in Antioch whereas almost all our information on the factions under Justinian is focused on Constantinople. In a riot at Antioch under Anastasius in 507, the Greens disembowelled the *praefectus vigilum* and dragged his corpse around the city, while the *comes Orientis* was forced to flee for his life (Malalas 395:20–398:4).

101 Callinicus, governor of Second Cilicia: *PLRE* III. 260, *s.v.* Callinicus 1. Procopius, *Secret History* 17.2–4, blamed Theodora for the revenge, which Justinian pretended to lament (though he still confiscated Callinicus' property).

like a pollution;[102] they lay in wait for travellers, committing robberies and murders so that everywhere was filled with untimely deaths and plundering and other crimes. But there were times when he changed to the opposite and dealt with them, handing over to the laws those whom he had permitted to commit outrages like those of barbarians in the cities.[103] To speak in great detail about these matters will take too much space and time; but these are sufficient as testimony for the remainder as well.

33 At that moment of time there were divinely inspired men and workers of great signs in many parts of the earth, though their fame has shone forth everywhere. Barsanuphius, who was an Egyptian by race, so pursued the fleshless life in the flesh at a certain monastery near the town of Gaza that he has worked miracles which surpass recollection.[104] He is even believed still to be alive, confined in a little room, even though for 50 years and more he has neither been seen by anyone nor partaken of anything of this world. Eustochius, the prelate of Jerusalem, did not believe this, but when he decided to dig through into the little room where the man of God was confined, fire blazed forth and almost consumed all who were there.[105]

102 This overstates the isolation of the Greens, since they still had their own patrons, such as John the Cappadocian (John Lydus, *De Mag.* iii.62). The Greens, however, were victims of discrimination, and Malalas records the harsh punishments inflicted by the prefect Julian in 565 because of their murders, highway robberies, brigandage and piracy (Malalas, *Exc. de Insid.* fr. 51, pp. 175:29–176:17).

103 There are various references to occasions when members of both factions were punished (e.g. Malalas 491:15–17), and after a race meeting attended by Persian ambassadors was disrupted by hostile chanting, Justinian had the Blues singled out for punishment (Malalas 488:6–14).

104 The monk Barsanuphius is known as the author of a work against the Origenist views which gained ground in Palestine in the 530s and 540s, and was the source, with his monastic companion John, for a collection of *Questions and Answers* which provided advice on a wide range of subjects to other monks and laymen.

105 Barsanuphius gave advice about the plague of 542 (*Correspondance* 569; cf. n. 115 below), but fell silent after the death of his companion John; if John died in 542/3, there is just room for a half century of immurement before the date of Evagrius' composition. There is a different version of this story in the *Questions and Answers* of Barsanuphius (*Correspondance* 125): monks in the monastery where Barsanuphius resided believed that Abbot Seridus had invented the holy man as a means of validating his rules, at which the old man emerged from his cell for the only time in his life and silently washed the monks' feet.

Eustochius was patriarch of Jerusalem from 552 to 563/4. For analogous incredulity, cf.

34 Now in Emesa there lived Symeon, a man who had shed the robe of vanity to such an extent that to those who did not know he even appeared to be demented, although he was indeed filled with all sacred wisdom and grace.[106] This Symeon lived for the most part by himself, **[183]** not allowing anyone at all an opportunity to know when and how he propitiated the Divinity, nor when he held fasts or partook of food by himself. But there were times indeed when, while frequenting the main streets,[107] he appeared to have been estranged from normality, and to be completely devoid of sense and intelligence; and sometimes even, on entering a tavern, he would consume the available breads and foods when he was hungry. But if anyone bowed his head to him in reverence, he left the place in rage and haste, fearing that his special virtue might be discovered by the multitude.

And such was Symeon's public behaviour. But he had certain acquaintances among whom he used to associate without any pretence at all. Now one of his acquaintances had a servant-girl, who had been debauched by someone and become pregnant. When she was compelled by her masters to declare who had done this, she said that Symeon had secretly had intercourse with her and that she was pregnant by him, and would swear on oath that this was truly so should it be necessary indeed to convict him. When Symeon heard this, he concurred, saying that he bore that fallible phenomenon flesh. And when this had become common knowledge and Symeon, so it seemed, incurred great shame, he withdrew himself and pretended to be abashed. And so when the appointed day came for the pregnant woman, and the usual

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Emperor Maurice's investigation of the miraculous effusion of S. Euphemia (Theophylact viii.14.6–9). A sudden blaze of fire is a regular phenomenon when holy objects or people are threatened by an unwelcome approach: *Miracula* of S. Demetrius i.51–3, Maurice is unable to obtain a relic of the saint; Theodoret, *EH* iii.20.4–8, Jewish efforts to dig foundations for the reconstruction of the Temple under Julian are stopped; *Chronicle of Edessa* p. 9, Anastasius is prevented from removing the *acta* of Chalcedon from the tomb of Euphemia; other references to holy fire in Festugière 396 n. 82.

106 Symeon is an exemplar of the category of Holy Fools, *saloi*, which Evagrius had described in general terms in i.21 (probably using Symeon as his model); for discussion of the phenomenon, see Rydén, 'Fool'. There is an extended *Life* of Symeon by Leontius of Neapolis, composed in the mid-seventh century, though Leontius has postdated Symeon's activities by about 40 years (on this, see Mango, 'Leontius' 26–30; Krueger, *Symeon*).

107 Festugière (396 with n. 83) translates as 'in the public street while doing his shopping', but the sense is probably less precise.

things were in place, the labour produced violent, great and intolerable pain, and brought the woman into extreme danger, but the birth in no way advanced. So when they besought Symeon to pray – he had deliberately come along – he said openly that the woman would not give birth until she said who it was who had sired the pregnancy. When she had done this and revealed the true father, immediately the infant leapt forth, the truth acting as midwife.[108]

This man was once seen to have gone into a certain prostitute's room, **[184]** and, after shutting the door, he spent a long time alone with her. So when he opened the door, departed and left, looking everywhere lest anyone should see, suspicion reached such a pitch that the onlookers brought the woman, and enquired what was the reason for Symeon to go in to her and why the great period of time. But she swore that this was the third day since she had tasted anything but water for want of necessities, and that he brought delicacies, bread and a jar of wine; after closing the door he had brought up a table and dined her, bidding her take her fill of the meal until she was sufficiently fattened up after the abstinence from food.[109] And she produced the remains of what had been brought.

But, there is another story that when the tremor which flattened Phoenicia Maritima was at hand, the one in which the cities of Beirut and Byblus and Tripolis suffered particularly, he raised aloft a whip in his hand and struck most of the columns in the forum, shouting: 'Stand, you can dance.' Accordingly, since nothing of that man was without purpose, the bystanders made a mental note of which columns he had passed by without striking. Not long after they did indeed fall down, becoming the victim of the earthquakes.[110] There

108 Cf. Palladius, *Lausiac History* 70, for a similar story where a woman is in labour for a week before admitting a false accusation of paternity against a Holy Man. Such an accusation by a prostitute was used to remove Eustathius of Antioch from his see in 327 (Theodoret *EH* i.21; cf. also ii.9), though Allen, 'Use' 274, rejects that story as a topos.

109 The verb in this clause may well be corrupt. Christophorson (cited in Bidez–Parmentier's *apparatus*) suggested πιεσθεῖσαν for πιανθεῖσαν, i.e. 'because she had been sufficiently afflicted by'. Cf. *Pratum Spirituale* 136 for a similar story.

110 This refers to the great earthquake which devastated the Levant and terminated the prosperity of Beirut in 551. Cf. the *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Younger chs. 104–5 for a prediction of the devastation by this earthquake, and Evagrius iv.7 for Zosimas having miraculous knowledge of the 527 quake that struck Antioch (and the need to make a mental note). Cf. *Pratum Spirituale* 50 for a prediction by the recluse Gregory of an earthquake in Palestine.

were many other things which he did that require indeed a separate treatment.[111]

35 At that time there was also Thomas, who pursued this life in Coele Syria. He came to the city of Antiochus to collect his monastery's annual stipend, which was allocated from the church here.[112] Anastasius, the steward of the church, struck him over the head with his hand since he was constantly pestering him; when those present showed anger, he said that neither would he receive nor Anastasius give again.[113] And both things came to pass, **[185]** since one day later Anastasius terminated his life, while Thomas on his return journey migrated to the ageless life in the hospice for the sick in the suburb of Daphne. They placed his corpse in the tombs of the foreigners. But after a first and then a second had both been deposited, his body was found on top of both of them, a very great miracle of God, Who proclaimed him even after death (for they had been thrust aside and dispatched far away); in amazement at the holy man they reported this to Ephrem.[114] And his all-holy corpse was transported to the city of Antiochus with public celebration and procession, and received honours in the cemetery after terminating by its translation the current visitation of the disease of plague. Down to our time the sons of the Antiochenes magnificently celebrate the annual festival

111 Krueger, *Symeon* ch. 2, argued that Leontius, the seventh-century biographer of Symeon, invented his hagiography on the basis of the information in Evagrius; Mango, 'Leontios' 30, suggested that he had access to a written source in the form of a *paterikon*, a collection of disconnected anecdotes, which was probably also available to Evagrius.

112 The burial of Thomas, the *apocrisarius* (an official representative, a suitable position for someone who collected the monastery's annual stipend) of a monastery near Apamea, is also recorded in *Pratum Spirituale* 88, and referred to in the *Life* of Martha (the mother of Symeon the Younger) chs. 24, 28.

113 This prediction is not otherwise attested.

114 According to *Pratum Spirituale* 88, Thomas died at the Church of S. Euphemia at Daphne; the day after his burial in the foreigners' grave, the clergy attempted to bury a woman's corpse in the same tomb, but her corpse was flung out, and the same process happened on the following day; the clergy then reported the occurrence to Patriarch Domninus of Antioch (545–59), who had the corpse translated to the Antioch cemetery and a small chapel built for it. Cf. *Life* of John the Almsgiver ch. 45 for a similar miracle.

for him.[115] But let us transfer the course of the account to the next subject.

36 After Anthimus had been expelled from the see of the queen of cities, as I have said, Epiphanius succeeded to the bishopric[116] and in turn after Epiphanius, Menas, under whom there also occurred a miracle worthy of great account. Ancient custom in the imperial city has it that when a substantial quantity of the holy parts of the immaculate body of Christ our God remain over, uncorrupted boys are sent for from among those who attend an elementary teacher, and that they eat these. On one occasion the son of a glass-worker, a Jew by belief, was assembled with the boys. When his parents enquired the reason for his lateness, he declared what had happened, and what it was that he had eaten up, together with the other boys. And his father, in fury and wrath, placed the boy in the furnace of coals where he shaped the glass, and set light to it. While looking for the boy but unable to find him, the mother went all over the city, wailing and shrieking piercingly. And on the third day, when standing by the door of her husband's workshop, she called to the boy by name, though convulsed with lamentations. And he, recognizing the voice of his mother, answered her back from the furnace. And she, on breaking through the doors **[186]** and going inside, saw the boy standing in the midst of the coals, but the fire was not touching him. When he was asked how he had remained unharmed, he said that a woman wearing a purple robe had visited him frequently and proffered water, and with this he had quenched the adjacent coals; and that she fed him whenever he was hungry. When this was reported to Justinian, he enrolled the boy and his mother in the church, after they had been enlightened with the bath of rebirth; as for the father, who did not

115 Miracles that affected the plague are rare; Barsanuphius urged his fellow monks to join in prayer with three perfect men, John in Rome, Elias in Corinth, and an anonymous person in the province of Jerusalem (i.e. Barsanuphius himself), who were labouring to secure a speedy end to the torment: *Correspondance* 569. If Ephrem was still patriarch, it must have been the first visitation of the plague which was stopped, whereas under Domninus it would have been one of the recurrences. For the periphrasis 'sons of . . .', cf. nn. 15 and 67 and above, and. i.20 with n. 175.

116 Cf. iv.11 above for this incorrect succession.

tolerate being numbered among Christians, he had him impaled in Sycae as murderer of his child. And these things happened in this way.[117]

37 After Menas Eutychius ascended to the see, while at Jerusalem Salustius succeeded to the see after Martyrius, and Elias after him, and then Peter, and after him Macarius, though the emperor had not yet approved; he was expelled from his throne, for they said that he professed the doctrines of Origen. After him Eustochius succeeded to the bishopric. After the expulsion of Theodosius, as has already been described, Zoilus was appointed bishop of the city of the Alexandrians, and after he had been added to his predecessors Apollinarius obtained the throne. After Ephrem Domninus was entrusted with the see of Antioch.[118]

38 While Vigilius was in charge of the elder Rome, of the new Rome first Menas, then Eutychius, of the city of Alexander Apollinarius, of that of Antiochus Domninus, and of Jerusalem Eustochius, Justinian summoned the Fifth Synod for the following reason. Because those who revered the doctrines of Origen were increasing in power, especially in the so-called New Lavra, Eustochius made every effort to drive them out. And after coming to the said New Lavra he expelled everyone and

117 The same miracle is recorded by Georgius Monachus, vol. II 654:19–656:11, incorrectly placed in the reign of Justin II; Gregory of Tours (*Glory of the Martyrs* 9) has the same story, but with no specific location or chronological indication, while the father is punished by being pushed into his own furnace by an angry crowd. There is a rather more mundane version in the *Life* of Sabas ch. 5: the monastic baker had left some clothes to dry in his oven, which was then heated up, but the young Sabas plunged into it to rescue them after making the sign of the cross. In Rufus, *Plerophories* 14, there is a Monophysite version of the story, in which an old prophet has a vision before the Council of Chalcedon: he sees a crowd of bishops placing a beautiful child in a furnace for three days; the child is Christ, who identifies Dioscorus of Alexandria as his only friend.

For Sycae as a place of execution, cf. iii. n. 136 above.

118 This episcopal synchronism is the first constructed by Evagrius himself: the last one, at iii.23 (the end of Zeno's reign in 491), was based on Zachariah (see iii n. 76 above). It is designed to set the scene for the report of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. Menas of Constantinople died in 552, during preparations for the Council, and was rapidly replaced by Eutychius (cf. n. 123 below). For Jerusalem (now added for the first time to the three major Eastern patriarchates), Evagrius traces the succession back into the fifth century: Martyrius (478–86), Salustius (486–94), Elias (494–516), Peter (524–52), Macarius (552), Eustochius (552–63); Evagrius has omitted John III (516–24). For Alexandria, Evagrius repeats the error he made at iv.11 in omitting Theodosius' immediate successor, Paul the Tabennesiot (537–40), who was followed by Zoilus (540–51) and Apollinarius (551–70). At Antioch, Ephrem died in 545, to be succeeded by Domninus (545–59).

drove them far away, as if they were causes of general pollution, but after they had been scattered they won over many to their side.[119] **[187]**

119 This is a rather confused account of the complex antecedents to the Fifth Council, held at Constantinople in 553. There were two distinct issues: first the Origenist dispute which arose in Palestine in the mid-530s, and which Justinian's edict of 543 was meant to resolve (see below; also n. 122, first paragraph); second, the Three Chapters dispute, which arose in 544 out of the resolution of the Origenist dispute and which Justinian attempted to terminate through his Declaration of Faith in 551 (see n. 122 below). To promote acceptance of the Three Chapters initiative in the West, Justinian had to secure the support of Pope Vigilius (see n. 122 below), and this ultimately required the convocation of an Ecumenical Council (as narrated in the latter part of this chapter). But the occasion of the Council also furnished an opportunity for another discussion of the Palestinian Origenist problems, thereby bringing together the two strands of these ecclesiastical debates.

For discussion of Evagrius' evidence and its chronological problems, see Diekamp, *Streitigkeiten* 100–6. Part of Evagrius' problem is that he clearly antedated the accession of Eustochius, who was in fact only appointed to Jerusalem in December 552, after arrangements for the Council were well under way (Allen, *Evagrius* 202). His predecessor Peter had been active against the Origenists, although it was Eustochius who reclaimed the New Lavra for orthodoxy, after the Fifth Council; Cyril, the hagiographer of Sabas, was among the monks who were assembled to repopulate the Lavra on that occasion (*Life* of Sabas ch. 90).

The Origenist problem in Palestine was an important antecedent to the Council, but the more direct motive for Justinian's summons of the assembly was to obtain universal agreement to his edict on the Three Chapters (see n. 122 below); on the other hand, Cyril of Scythopolis also regarded the Origenist problem as the main work of the Council. Origenist issues were discussed at a separate gathering of bishops, probably a local Synod that was convened just before the official opening of the Ecumenical Council: cf. n. 131 below, and see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 402–10.

Origen, the theological allegorizer of the third century, was condemned in his own lifetime, though as much for his irregular ordination to the priesthood as for theological speculations. The loss of most of his writings makes reconstruction of his doctrines difficult, but his ideas remained influential, especially as expounded in the late-fourth century by Evagrius of Pontus and Didymus the Blind: their writings had a profound impact on Eastern spirituality and effectively represent what most subsequent participants in debates regarded as Origenist. In Palestine Origenist doctrines, for example on the pre-existence of souls, that the soul of Christ was superior to other souls, and that mortal bodies were not identical to those which would be resurrected, appear to have spread in monastic circles in the early sixth century as part of the intellectual attempt to resolve the Christological problem which divided Chalcedonians and Monophysites. Leontius of Byzantium, a monk in the monastery of Sabas who was a leading defender of Chalcedon, while attempting to interpret the Council, expressed reservations about some of the Cyrillan and Theopaschite language of contemporary neo-Chalcedonians; as a result he could be presented as sanctioning a more Origenist understanding of Christ as a divine intellect that was temporarily incorporated in a human body, an intelligible misrepresentation. Above all, Origenism came to represent an attitude towards theology as much as a doctrinal system and so offered a conveniently heretical label with which to brand opponents, especially intellectuals who believed that theolo-

Theodore surnamed Ascidas, Bishop of the city of Caesar, which is the chief of the province of Cappadocia, defended them, a man who was in regular attendance on Justinian since he was established as loyal to him and particularly friendly.[120] And so while he was stirring up the palace and calling the action an utter impiety and illegality, Eustochius sent to the imperial city Rufus, head of the monastery of Theodosius, and Conon, that of the monastery of Sabas, men who had the highest reputations in the desert both from their personal reputations and because of the monasteries which they led;[121] with them others came too, who were not far behind in repute. In the first instance these men raised the matter of Origen and Evagrius and Didymus, but Theodore

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gical speculation, for example on the mechanics of the incarnation, was a suitable activity for monks: see Daley, 'Leontius' 362–9. For the debate, see Stallman-Pacitti, *Cyril* 89–105; Daley, 'Leontius'; Binns, *Ascetics* 201–15; Meyendorff, *Unity* 230–5. Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 181–229, is detailed on Leontius' doctrinal teaching, but less clear on other implications.

Until the death of Sabas in 532, the intellectual Origenists had been kept in check by the uncompromising anti-intellectualism of this powerful monastic leader (for his hostility, see for example *Life* ch. 83, p. 188:18), but over the next decade their influence within the Palestinian monasteries increased, to the extent that they controlled the New Lavra and attempted to take over, or destroy, the Great Lavra and other monastic communities.

120 Theodore, an Origenist and one of the leading monks in the New Lavra, had travelled to Constantinople in 536 to participate in the Council which considered the resignation of Patriarch Anthimus and the orthodoxy of Severus (see n. 31 above); he became a confidant of Justinian, and was soon appointed bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia while the like-minded Domitian became bishop of Ankara (*Life* of Sabas ch. 83, p. 189:6). Justinian's failure to assess Theodore's qualities implies that he was a poor judge of character, or insufficiently careful about his associates: contrast the praise of Maurice at v.19, pp. 214:33–215:3.

121 Evagrius' confusion over the date of Eustochius' accession causes him more problems: this paragraph begins with the actions of Theodore in the late 530s, moves to Eustochius' representatives at Constantinople in 552/3, and then continues to the Three Chapters debate of the 540s (see next note).

Conon, the abbot of the Great Lavra (Monastery of Sabas), visited Constantinople in 552 to complain about the actions of the Origenists, and managed to secure the appointment of Eustochius as patriarch; thereafter Eustochius had to impose order in his new see and so could not attend the Ecumenical Council which was now being prepared, but Conon requested him to dispatch Eulogius, abbot of the monastery of Theodosius, as one of his representatives (*Life* of Sabas ch. 90). Rufus is not otherwise attested as the head of the monastery of Theodosius, and Evagrius may simply be in error (Binns, *Ascetics* 216) since he subsequently recognizes the presence at the Council of Eulogius (p. 188:25): at his death in 529, Theodosius was succeeded by Sophronius (*Life* of Sabas ch. 70, pp. 171:26–172:5), but there is plenty of time for another abbot between him and Eulogius.

the Cappadocian, with the intention of diverting them in a different direction, introduced the matter of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret and Ibas, though God in His goodness arranged everything to advantage so that the profanities might be driven out from both sides.[122]

122 This, again, is a rather confusingly compressed account of the origins of the Three Chapters controversy. The Origenist problem, which had been increasing in Palestine during the 530s, came to a head when a local Synod at Antioch issued an anathema against Origenist doctrines; in Palestine Origenist monks tried to have Ephrem of Antioch's name struck from the records, but Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem referred the matter to Justinian; with the support of Patriarch Menas and of the papal representative Pelagius, the emperor issued an anti-Origenist edict in 543, which concluded with nine anathemas summarizing the main Origenist theses under attack (Liberatus 24, p. 140:13–19; Schwartz, *Schriften* 47–69). All patriarchs and bishops were required to subscribe; even Theodore Ascidas agreed, a decision facilitated by the fact that the anathemas focused on Origenist errors identified in debates in the fourth and fifth centuries rather than on what were alleged to be their contemporary manifestations: see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 387–402.

Theodore Ascidas, quite possibly with the support of the empress Theodora, recovered his influence with Justinian by proposing that an explicit condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius, might encourage Monophysites to return to communion with the Chalcedonians; an incidental benefit from the perspective of Theodore Ascidas was that Theodore of Mopsuestia had been a leading opponent of Origenist thought. This initiative resulted in the issuing of an imperial edict in 544, which condemned the 'Three Chapters', namely the person and works of Theodore, the writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus against Cyril of Alexandria, and the letter to Maris the Persian attributed to Ibas of Edessa. As a result Chalcedon would become more closely connected with Cyril, whereas Antiochene traditions of Christology would be excluded: see Gray, 'Noah' 201–5.

Although Justinian asserted his acceptance of Chalcedon and intention that his new initiative should not be seen as an attack on the Council, the edict still provoked intense opposition in the West and among committed Chalcedonians in the East, since it appeared to question the rectitude of the Council's decisions, at which Theodoret and Ibas had both been reinstated as orthodox: Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 421–5. In order to overcome this, Justinian had Pope Vigilius forcibly removed from Rome in 546 and brought to Constantinople; after a year of severe pressure, Vigilius agreed to subscribe to this edict in 548, but this merely provoked local Councils in western provinces to reject the Pope and his decision. In the face of this opposition, Vigilius suggested the convocation of a general Council, and meantime withdrew his agreement to the condemnation of the Three Chapters. When Justinian issued a Declaration of Faith in 551, this appeared to preempt the decisions of any Council (which Justinian preferred to avoid), but Vigilius refused to accept this and prepared to pronounce anathemas against Menas and Theodore Ascidas, the architects of Justinian's doctrinal policy. Justinian meantime deposed Zoilus of Alexandria and Peter of Jerusalem for their refusal to agree to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but at last accepted the inevitability of a Council to resolve the dispute.

Now when a first question was raised as to whether it was right for the dead to be encompassed by anathemas, Eutychius was present. He was trained to the highest degree in sacred scripture though, while Menas was still alive, he was not one of the more prominent: for he was serving as *apocrisarius* to the bishop of Amasea. He looked at the gathering not only with self-confidence but also contempt,[123] and clearly stated that this did not require any consideration, for Josiah the king had long ago not only slain the living priests of the demons, but had also dug up the tombs of those who had long been dead. This seemed to everyone to have been spoken appositely. When Justinian heard this, he raised him to the throne of the royal city immediately after Menas' death.[124]

Now Vigilius assented in writing, but did not choose to attend.[125] Justinian asked the assembled Synod what it thought about Theodore and what Theodoret had said against Cyril and his Twelve Chapters,

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For clear discussions, see Bury, *History* II. 383–9; Bréhier, in Fliche and Martin IV. 460–72; Meyendorff, *Unity* 234–40; Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 419–29.

123 Eutychius, a monk from Amasea, was representing his bishop in the capital as *apocrisarius*. The antithesis of φρονήματι / καταφρονήματι goes back to Thucydides (ii.62.3), though it had become a cliché.

124 The same story of Eutychius' timely intervention in a debate, presumably at a local gathering of bishops at Constantinople, is recorded in the *Life* by Eustratius 613–38 (Laga = *PG* 86, chs. 22–3). Menas died on 24 August 552, and Justinian required a doctrinally reliable successor to supervise the deliberations of the Council. Discussion in Averil Cameron, 'Models' 213–14.

Allen, *Evagrius* 203, claims that this information about Eutychius must have been supplied by Domitian of Melitene, but there is no basis for this speculation. Eutychius' elevation was quite dramatic, and the circumstances were probably widely known.

125 Vigilius' written assent probably refers to his letter of 6 January 553, which was read out on the first day of the Council (*ACO* IV.1, pp. 16:17–18:14). On 14 May 553, after refusing two requests to attend, partly on grounds of ill health, partly because there were not enough Italian bishops present, Vigilius issued a *Constitutum* in which he condemned a wide range of the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but refused to condemn a person who was, at his death, an accepted member of the Church; he also refused to condemn Theodoret (though he did list, without attribution, five of the errors ascribed to him) and Ibas, since this would be to overturn the decisions of Chalcedon, which had cleared them of all suspicion of Nestorian views. Evagrius glosses over the determined opposition of Vigilius to the proceedings. Vigilius finally assented to the Council's condemnation of the Three Chapters in a letter to Eutychius on 8 December: Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 441–2.

The *Life* of Eutychius, 799–815 (Laga = *PG* 86, ch. 28), claimed that Vigilius did attend, but for the considerable distortions of this source, see Cameron, 'Eustratius' 230–2.

and the so-called letter of Ibas to Maris the Persian.[126] After many writings of Theodore and Theodoret had been read, and it had been demonstrated that long ago even **[188]** Theodore had been condemned and erased from the sacred diptychs, and that heretics ought to be condemned even after their death,[127] they anathematized Theodore *nem. con.*, as it is said,[128] and the pronouncements of Theodoret against the Twelve Chapters of Cyril and the correct faith, and the letter of Ibas to Maris the Persian, stating in the following words:

> Our great God and saviour Jesus Christ, according to the parable in the Gospels . . .

and further on:

> In addition to all other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the aforesaid four holy Synods and by the whole universal and apostolic Church, we condemn and anathematize as well Theodore, who is called bishop of Mopsuestia, and his impious writings, and what was impiously written by Theodoret against the correct faith and the Twelve Chapters of Cyril, who is with the saints, and the first holy Synod at Ephesus, and all that he composed in support of Theodore and Nestorius. And in addition to these we also anathematize the impious letter said to have been written by Ibas to Maris the Persian.[129]

126 The documents relating to the Fifth Ecumenical Council are not completely preserved. Justinian's address to the Council is at *ACO* IV.1, pp. 8:13–14:27. For a summary of proceedings, see Bréhier in Fliche and Martin IV. 472–6.

127 This extensive enquiry into the works of Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas occupies *ACO* IV. pp. 43–182; cf. Gray, 'Noah' 200–5. For the significance of the inclusion or exclusion of names from the diptychs, cf. iii n. 66 above.

128 For the periphrasis, cf. i.12, p. 20:24–5.

129 The decision of the Council occupies *ACO* IV.1, pp. 208:1–215:7; the quotations are from pp. 208:1–2, 214:16–23 (there is a shorter Greek version at pp. 239:1–240:2). Theodore is 'called bishop of Mopsuestia' because Justinian had instigated an investigation in the city which supposedly discovered that Theodore's name was not recorded in the episcopal diptychs; the place where his name should have been was occupied by Cyril, namely his doctrinal opponent Cyril of Alexandria: *ACO* IV.1, pp.116–17. The attribution to Ibas of the letter to Maris was denied throughout the proceedings (discussion at the sixth session of the Council, *ACO* IV.1, pp. 138–82; see Gray, 'Noah' 201–2); this was important since it allowed the offensive text to be anathematized without, in theory, affecting the standing of Ibas whose orthodoxy had been upheld at Chalcedon. The Council's acceptance of Chalce-

And after other things they expounded fourteen chapters concerning the correct and blameless faith.[130] And thus did these matters proceed. But when depositions against the doctrines of Origen, who is also called Adamantine, and those who follow his impiety and error, were submitted by the monks Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus and Pancratius,[131] Justinian asked the assembled Synod concerning these matters, **[189]** after attaching both a copy of the deposition and the missives to Vigilius concerning these things.[132] From all of these one can gather how Origen attempted to fill up the simplicity of apostolic doctrines with Hellenic and Manichaean tares. Accordingly a reply to Justinian was given by the Synod, after it had made acclamations against Origen and his companions in error. Part of this was set out in these words:

> O most Christian emperor, who possesses a soul which partakes of heavenly virtue. . .

and further on:

> Accordingly we have fled, we have fled this. For we did not recognize the voice of the strangers, and after safely binding such a man as a thief and robber in the nooses of anathema, we have cast him out from the sacred precincts.

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don is underlined by the reference to the four holy Councils. For the contents of the canons, see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 444–53.

130 *ACO* IV.1, pp. 215:8–220:5, 240:2–244:6 (based on the thirteen anathemas in Justinian's Declaration of Faith).

131 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life* of Sabas ch. 90, pp. 198:25–199:1, confirms that, in addition to three bishops who represented him at the Council, Patriarch Eustochius sent these three leading monks: Eulogius was abbot of the monastery of Theodosius, Cyriacus of the monastery of the Source, while Pancratius was a stylite; Conon, the abbot of the Great Lavra, was already in Constantinople (cf. n. 121 above). These proceedings concerning Origen are not included among the incomplete *acta* of the Fifth Council; they preceded the Council (cf. n. 119 above, second paragraph) and were not regarded as a formal part of proceedings, but the concurrence between Evagrius and Cyril of Scythopolis over the monks' names indicates that Evagrius has placed the petition in the correct context.

132 Justinian had written to Vigilius in 543 to obtain his assent to the emperor's anti-Origenist edict, but there may have been subsequent correspondence as the dispute continued to cause trouble.

And a bit later:

> The force of what has been done by us you will learn from the reading of it.

To this they also attached the chapters which revealed what those who hold the doctrines of Origen were taught to profess, both their agreements as well as their disagreements, and their many-sided error. Among these there is a fifth chapter for the blasphemies of individual members of the so-called New Lavra, which ran thus: 'Theodore Ascidas the Cappadocian said: "If now the apostles and martyrs accomplish miracles and are held in the same honour, if in the restoration they are not equal to Christ, what sort of restoration is there for them?"'[133] Many other blasphemies of Didymus, Evagrius[134] and Theodore were also reported by them, since they had collected relevant material with great diligence.

Then, after some time had interposed since this Synod, Eutychius was expelled, and John was introduced instead to the see of the Church of Constantinople. He came from Seremis, which is a village situated in the Cynegike, in the territory of the city of the Antiochenes.[135] **[190]**

133 This refers to the doctrine of the so-called Isochrist Origenists, who held that the object of prayer and the ascetic life was to restore the human soul to its primal state of union with God (souls existed eternally, and before the Fall had been united in contemplation of God; thereafter they had been divided); if this could be achieved, the human soul would be equal to Christ.

134 Didymus the Blind and Evagrius of Pontus, the two most important disciples of Origen; cf. n. 119 above.

135 There had in fact been an interval of eleven years. Eutychius was removed from office in January 565, and exiled to his monastery at Amasea, for refusing to approve Justinian's Aphthartodocetist edict (see next chapter). Discussion in Averil Cameron, 'Eustratius' 234–7; 'Models' 215. His successor, John *scholasticus*, was prepared to compromise on this issue, or at least to give that impression. Van den Ven, 'L'Accession' esp. 334–44, suggested that Eutychius saw no more than a preparatory proposal (χάρτη in the *Life* of Eutychius 1015–16 [Laga = *PG* 86, ch. 36 col. 2316D]) and that, although he raised objections, doctrinal differences were not the cause of his exile. This argument presumes that Evagrius' narrative order is accurate, which is not necessarily the case even for such recent events (Stein, *Bas-Empire* II. 688 n. 1, accuses him of error here); furthermore, if Evagrius had linked Eutychius' expulsion with this doctrinal dispute, this might have distracted attention from Anastasius of Antioch whose principled objection Evagrius wished to highlight. By contrast, in his *Life* of Eutychius Eustratius shows considerable respect for imperial authority, and he may not have wanted to highlight his hero's rejection of a formal imperial edict.

39 At that time,[136] Justinian, after abandoning the correct highway of doctrine and travelling a path untrodden by the Apostles and Fathers, fell among thistles and thorns. Although he wished to fill the Church too with these, he failed in his objective since the Lord protected the royal road with unbroken fences, lest murderers might leap onto a leaning wall, as it were, or an overturned barrier, in fulfilment of the prediction of the prophet.[137] And so after Vigilius John, who is also called Catelinus, was bishop of elder Rome, of New Rome John from Seremis, of the city of the Alexandrians Apollinarius, while Anastasius was bishop of the city of the Theopolitans after Domninus, and at Jerusalem Macarius was returned again to his own see since, after the deposition of Eustochius, he had anathematized Origen and Didymus and Evagrius.[138] Justinian issued what is called by the Romans an edict, in which he described the body of Christ as incorruptible and not susceptible to the natural and blameless passions, thus stating that the Lord ate before the Passion just as He ate after the resurrection, and that from the time of its formation in the womb His all-holy body did not experience any change or variation in respect to the voluntary and natural passions, not even after its resurrection;[139] he compelled

136 AD 564. In the last years of his reign, Justinian pursued his quest for religious unification, first through a meeting with the unnamed Julianist bishop of Joppa soon after 560 (Michael the Syrian ix.34, II. p. 272), and then through discussions with the Nestorian Paul of Nisibis (Guillaumont, 'Justinian'; Lee, 'Paul' 476–9). These efforts may have aroused suspicions about Justinian's doctrinal position, which then received confirmation in the Aphthartodocete initiative.

137 The 'royal road' of orthodoxy: Lampe, *s.v.* βασιλικός I.A.1; 'leaning wall': Psalms 61 (62).3–4.

138 Episcopal synchronism. At Rome Vigilius, who died in Sicily in 555 while returning from his long absence in Constantinople, was succeeded by Pelagius (555–60), who in turn was succeeded by John III Catelinus in 561; at Antioch (Theopolis) Domninus died in 559. At Jerusalem Eustochius had been responsible for repressing the Origenist monks, whose ideas had caused such trouble earlier in Justinian's reign; this included the mass expulsion of monks from the New Lavra and their replacement by orthodox Chalcedonians, but it was these officially sanctioned measures which led to his downfall (Theophanes 242:29). Justinian may have been influenced into taking his Aphthartodocetist measure by the Julianist bishop of Joppa (see next note), and Stein plausibly speculated that this individual might have suggested to Justinian that his patriarchal superior in Palestine should be replaced (*Bas-Empire* II. 685).

139 The Aphthartodocete initiative is another example of the intellectual closeness of neo-Chalcedonian and Monophysite positions, which could not, however, be bridged in practice. The heretical view had been propagated by Julian, the early sixth-century bishop

the priests in all places to assent to this. And so all said that they were waiting for Anastasius, Bishop of Antioch, and diverted the initial attempt.[140]

40 Now Anastasius was especially skilled in sacred matters, as well as being strict in his habits and lifestyle, so that he paid attention even to extremely minute matters and in no way diverged from what was upright and established, and especially not in significant matters and ones which related to the Divinity itself. His character was so well balanced that he was neither vulnerable to what was unsuitable by being approachable and accessible, nor by being austere **[191]** and merciless was he inaccessible for what was necessary. And so in serious matters his ear was ready and his tongue fluent, straightaway resolving questions, but in trivial matters his ears were completely shut and a bridle checked

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of Halicarnassus, who was a prominent Monophysite opponent of Severus of Antioch; he taught that Christ's body was not susceptible to corruption or suffering, but that Christ had voluntarily accepted suffering and death to save humanity. The doctrine was intended to counter the excessive emphasis on a distinction between Christ's humanity, which experienced human emotions and sufferings, and His divinity, which performed the miracles. It was not incompatible with the Chalcedonian position (van Esbroeck, 'Edict'), but because it had been formulated by leading opponents of Chalcedon, such as Timothy Aelurus, it had acquired the label of anti-Chalcedonian.

Earlier in Justinian's reign Leontius of Byzantium had complained that some Chalcedonians, seduced by the word *aphtharsia*, 'incorruptibility', of which they approved, had gone over to the teachings of Severus and Julian (*PG* 86, col. 1317C–D); Justinian undoubtedly continued to see himself as a Chalcedonian, and probably hoped that his adoption of the belief would attract Julianists back to the mainstream fold. Carcione, 'Giustiniano', disputes this interpretation on the grounds that Justinian had, as recently as 562, ordered the arrest of the Alexandrian patriarch Elpidius, who then died *en route* to Constantinople (Theophanes 241.6–10), events which would have antagonized Monophysites. But, in all his doctrinal discussions, Justinian had tried to bring relevant leaders to Constantinople where pressure to compromise could best be applied, and Elpidius was a Gaianist (an adherent of Patriarch Gaianus, on whom see n. 27 above) who espoused the Christological views towards which Justinian was now moving. Theophanes' notice of Elpidius' death does not suggest that it was the result of his arrest.

140 Eutychius of Constantinople was, inevitably, the first patriarch to have to respond to Justinian's new doctrinal demands. Anastasius of Antioch summoned a meeting of the bishops in his patriarchate, and it was these who sheltered behind him. The *Life* of Eutychius, 1175–82 (Laga = *PG* 86, ch. 41), singles Anastasius out for special praise, though Eutychius himself naturally took the lead; as an inhabitant of Antioch, Evagrius focuses on Anastasius and virtually ignores Eutychius: cf. Averil Cameron, 'Eustratius' 236–7.

his tongue, so that both speech was modulated by thought and silence was made mightier than speech.[141]

Justinian assailed this man like some impregnable tower by applying contrivances of all sorts, reckoning that, if he could shake this one, there would be no toil left in capturing the city and enslaving the correct doctrines and taking captive the flocks of Christ.[142] But to such an extent was Anastasius elevated aloft by his sacred courage – for he had taken his stand upon the immovable rock of the faith – that he even opposed Justinian in public in a personal declaration,[143] and through it displayed with great clarity and learning that the body of Christ was corruptible in the natural and blameless passions, and that both the venerable apostles and the divinely inspired Fathers believed and handed this down. He responded thus as well to a question from the monastic community of First and Second Syria, bolstering the minds of all and making them ready for the struggle, reading daily in church the words of the chosen vessel:[144] 'If anyone proclaims to you a gospel different from what you have received, even if he be an angel from heaven, let him be anathema.'[145] Except for a small number everyone attended to this, and eagerly acted in similar fashion.

And so he also wrote a farewell speech to the Antiochenes, since he learnt that Justinian wished to banish him; this is deservedly admired for its beautiful language, the flow of ideas, the wealth of sacred texts and the suitability of its narration.

41 But since God made better provision for us,[146] the speech was not published. For while he was pronouncing the banishment of Anastasius and his subordinate priests, **[192]** Justinian was invisibly wounded and departed the life here, after reigning for 38 years and 8 months in all.[147]

End of the 4th Book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius.

141 Cf. the praise of Maurice: v.19, pp. 214:29–215:12.

142 Cf. the siege language applied to the Devil in i.1, p. 6:18–22.

143 This was the decision of the local Synod convened by Anastasius.

144 Acts 9.15.

145 Galatians 1.8.

146 Hebrews 11.40.

147 Justinian died on the night of 14 November 565, at the age of about 83, after a reign of 38 years, 7 months and 13 days. His sudden death was a clear sign of divine disapproval (and cf. v.1 for Evagrius' verdict).

[193] THESE ARE THE CONTENTS OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS *SCHOLASTICUS*

[195] BOOK V OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS OF EPIPHANIA, *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT

1 Thus indeed Justinian, after filling absolutely everywhere with confusion and turmoil and collecting the wages for this at the conclusion to his life, passed over to the lowest places of punishment. But Justin, who was his nephew and had been entrusted with the guard of the palace, which the Roman tongue calls *curopalatus*, donned the purple after him; no one knew of Justinian's demise or Justin's proclamation except his entourage, until he appeared in the Hippodrome to accomplish and experience what was customary for royalty. Then, once this had happened without any disturbance whatsoever, he returned to the palace.[1] The first command he issued was to dismiss to their own sees the priests who had been assembled everywhere,[2] on condition that they

1 Following Justinian's death on the night of 14 November 565, events were smoothly controlled by Callinicus, the chief eunuch, who alone was present at the moment of death, and a group of leading senators. These went to the Palace of Hormisdas to summon Justin, and then on the morning of 15 November, while rumours prompted the populace to gather in the Hippodrome, Justin was crowned inside the palace, so that the subsequent public presentation in the Hippodrome was no more than a formal confirmation of the transfer of power. The most detailed narrative is in Corippus' panegyric of the new emperor, *Iust.* i-ii, with discussion in Cameron's notes.

After Justin's accession, the post of *curopalatus*, an administrative post of only modest importance, became much more significant and was regularly held by a member of the imperial family or a close supporter (see Mary Whitby, 'Ceremony' 469–76); Justin's position was greatly helped by the fact that the powerful excubitors, the main unit of the palace guard, were commanded by a protégé of his, the future emperor Tiberius.

2 Festugière, 413 n. 2, regarded 'assembled' (συνειλεγμένους) as suspect, on the grounds that there is no evidence for assemblies of bishops other than at Constantinople and

worshipped as was customary and no one introduced any innovation concerning the faith. And this was done to his credit.

In his lifestyle he was dissolute and he completely wallowed in luxuries and outlandish delights, so ardent a lover of the property of others that he transacted everything for illicit gain, not even fearing the Divinity in the matter of priesthoods, which he sold to the first-comers, openly making even these **[196]** subject to purchase.[3] Being ruled by the vices of bravado and cowardice, he first had Justin summoned, a relative of his, who was held in great renown by everyone both for his military experience and other distinctions; he was stationed on the Danube and was preventing the Avars from crossing.[4] The Avars are a Scythian race, one of the wagon-dwellers who range across the plains over there beyond the Caucasus; they had fled *en masse* from their neighbours the Turks, after being ill-treated by them, and had come to Bosporus. And after leaving the shore of the so-called Euxine Sea, where there were many barbarian nations, though cities and camps and certain anchorages had also been established by Romans, either for soldiers who were veterans or for colonies sent out by the emperors, they continued their journey, fighting against all the barbarians on the way, until they had reached the shores of the Danube and sent an embassy to Justinian.[5] So, Justin was

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Antioch; he suggested a minor change to 'arrested' (συνειλημμένους), so that the sentence could refer to the opponents of Justinian's Three Chapters policy who were now to be permitted to return to their cities (for the return of exiles, cf. Venantius Fortunatus, Appendix 2.39–44). But this change is unnecessary: Justinian had demanded acceptance of his heretical command from all patriarchs, and it is likely that all gathered their suffragan bishops, as at Antioch, to discuss their collective reaction; this indeed is suggested by the *Life* of Eutychius, ch. 41, where the specific mention of Anastasius of Antioch does not rule out comparable actions by his fellow patriarchs. Michael the Syrian, x.1, II. p. 283, though, only refers to a gathering at Antioch.

For thorough discussion of Justin's religious initiatives, see Averil Cameron, 'Policies'.

3 Cf. iii.1–2, criticism of Zeno. For discussion of the largely hostile image of Justin in the sources, where his alleged greed is prominent, see Averil Cameron, '*Kaiserkritik*'; also Whitby, 'Patriarchs'.

4 Justin, son of Germanus, was the new emperor's cousin; since 550 he had held military commands in Thrace, Lazica and Armenia, and then Thrace again, where his defence of the Danube in the early 560s is described by Menander fr. 5.4. See further *PLRE* III. 750–4, *s.v.* Justinus 4.

5 The Avars had come into diplomatic contact with the Romans in about 558 when, with the Alans as intermediaries, they sent an embassy via the Roman commander in Lazica (Justin, son of Germanus) to Constantinople; the direction of their embassy indicates that

summoned from there, as if, indeed, he was due to benefit from what had been agreed between himself and the emperor Justin. For since both had established comparable prestige in life's illusions, and the imperial power dangled over both, the two agreed after much disputation that the one who came into the imperial power should give the second place to the other, so that from his second place in the empire he should win precedence over others.[6]

2 Accordingly Justin, after welcoming Justin with a superficial show of great kindness, gradually invented accusations and removed his shield-bearers and spear-bearers and bodyguards and debarred him from access to himself (for, on the orders of Justin, he stayed in his house), and banished him to the great city of Alexander. **[197]** He was cruelly slain there deep in the night, while still lying in bed, collecting this recompense for his goodwill to the state and for his courageous deeds in wars. And the emperor himself and his consort Sophia did not remit their wrath, or have their fill of seething rage, until they had looked at his severed head and kicked it with their feet.[7]

3 Not long after he consigned to trial for treason Aetherius and Addaeus, who were members of the senatorial council and had held great and most important positions under Justinian. Of these Aetherius confirmed that he had wished to make away with the emperor by poison, and said that he had Addaeus as his associate in this undertaking and as an associate in all things. But the latter swore with dire oaths that

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they had arrived in the vicinity of the Sea of Azov, hence the reference to Bosporus, the settlement at the Straits of Kerch where the Sea of Azov enters the Black Sea. They had formerly been a major power in central Asia, but had fled west as the Turkish federation established itself as the dominant force in this region. For discussion, see Whitby, *Maurice* 84–6.

6 The career of Justin, son of Germanus, had been more prominent than that of his cousin, since he had held the ordinary consulship in 540, and been *magister militum* since 557. The son of Vigilantia was definitely inferior in 'life's illusions', being only an honorary consul and holding the post of *curopalatus*, but proximity to the palace more than outweighed this disadvantage.

7 Theophanes (244:4) accords Justin the title of *augustalis*, which would indicate that Justin had been given an exalted official position, but there is no confirmation for this; if Justin was killed before Aetherius and Addaeus (v.3), the date must be 566. Contrast the aversion to bloodshed of good emperors such as Maurice (vi.2, p. 223:18–19; cf. iii.34, p. 134:15–18 for Anastasius).

he knew absolutely nothing about this. And so both had their heads cut off, with Addaeus stating at the moment of execution that, although he had been falsely accused in these matters, he was justly suffering at the hands of Justice which watches over whatever is done: for he had slain Theodotus, the prefect of the palace, by witchcraft. Whether this was the case I am unable to say, but they were both sinners, Addaeus as a paederast, Aetherius because he had used every type of false accusation and pillaged the property of both the living and the dead in the name of the imperial household, of which he was in charge under Justinian. And this matter ended thus.[8]

4 Justin issued a proclamation to the Christians everywhere, in these very words:[9]

> In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God, the emperor Caesar Flavius Justin, faithful in Christ, mild, greatest, beneficent, Alamanicus, Gothicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Francicus,

8 For details of their careers, see *PLRE* III. 21–2, *s.v.* Aetherius 2, and 14–15: Addaeus was currently city prefect, while Aetherius was *curator* of the *domus* of Antiochus, an important unit of imperial properties. Aetherius had been accused of involvement in plots against Justinian in 560 and 562, though proof was lacking on each occasion; in January 565 the two had collaborated in removing Patriarch Eutychius from office (the *Life* of Eutychius naturally saw their fate as punishment: 2121–71, Laga, = *PG* 86 chs. 76–7). Theodotus had died in office as praetorian prefect in 548; according to John of Nikiu (90.55–9) Addaeus and Aetherius once offered Justinian the help of a magician whom they highly esteemed.

Allen, *Evagrius* 211–12, suggested that their treason against Justin II may have involved support for his cousin, so that the various deaths in 566 were linked; this is possible, but unprovable.

9 The following doctrinal edict was the culmination of a series of protracted discussions between different Monophysite groups, and between Monophysites and Chalcedonians in the early years of Justin II's reign. A first attempt at reconciliation had been rejected at a rowdy meeting of Monophysite monks at Callinicum on the Euphrates, probably in 568; discussions were continued in Constantinople, where Justin permitted Monophysite bishops to suggest emendations to a draft of this edict; agreement was tantalizingly close and some Monophysites agreed to subscribe to the edict, on the understanding that there would be a public anathema on the Council of Chalcedon, but they were seriously embarrassed when this was not forthcoming (John of Ephesus, *EH* i.19–25). Justin then issued the edict, probably in 571: Evagrius has failed to make this lapse of time clear. See Allen, *Evagrius* 22–6, 212–14; Averil Cameron, 'Policies' 62–4; Frend, *Rise* 316–23. Evagrius is the only Greek source for the edict, which is also preserved in Michael the Syrian x.4, II. pp. 295–9.

Herulicus, Gepidicus,[10] pious, fortunate, glorious, victorious, triumphant, **[198]** eternally revered, Augustus. "I give you my peace," says the Lord Christ, our true God, "My peace I leave you," the same proclaims to all men.[11] This means nothing other than that those who trust in Him come together in one and the same Church, sharing the same views concerning the correct doctrine of the Christians, but turning aside from those who speak or think the opposite. For the profession of the correct faith is established for all men as the prime salvation. Wherefore we too, following the Evangelists' injunctions, and the holy creed or teaching of the holy Fathers, urge everyone to come together into one and the same Church and opinion,[12] since we trust in Father, Son and Holy Spirit, a consubstantial Trinity, a single Divinity or nature and substance in word and deed, believing in a single force and power and energy in three *hypostases* or persons: into this we were baptized, in this we have trusted, and with this we have been united. For we worship a unity in trinity and a trinity in unity, having both a separation and a union that is wondrous, a unity in respect of essence or divinity, but a trinity in respect to its characters or *hypostases* or persons. For it is separated inseparably, so to speak, and is separably united. For the Divinity is one in three, and the three are one, those things in which the Divinity is, or to speak more precisely, which are the Divinity. We worship the Father as God, the Son as God, the Holy Spirit as God, whenever each person is considered by itself, if the mind divides the indivisible; we worship as God the three perceived in conjunction through the identity of their movement and nature, since it is necessary both to confess the one God and to proclaim the three *hypostases* or characters.

10 The imperial titles claim victories in the Balkans (Anticus, Herulicus, Gepidicus) and the West, i.e. Italy (Alamanicus, Gothicus, Germanicus, Francicus); some successes had been achieved on the Danube, where Sirmium was recovered in 566 and the Avars thwarted in 570, but it is harder to justify the western victory titles since the Lombards overran much of north Italy in the late 560s.

11 John 14.27.

12 The following confession of faith is taken, with very minor changes, from Justinian's edict of 551 (text in Schwartz, *Schriften* 72:13–74:16; 74:21–7; 76:37–78:1), to which Justin II added two sections (199:26–34; 200:15–25) and the conclusion (200:16–201:11); see Grillmeier, *Christ* II.2 486–9.

We confess Him as the Only-begotten Son of God, God the Word, who before the ages and outside time was begotten of the Father, not created, but at the end of days for us and for our salvation came down **[199]** from the heavens, and was made flesh of the Holy Spirit, and of our Lady, the holy, glorious, Mother of God and ever-Virgin Mary, and was begotten from her, He who is our Lord Jesus Christ, who is one of the holy Trinity, co-honoured with the Father and the Holy Spirit. For the Holy Trinity did not accept an addition of a fourth person, even when God the Word, one of the Holy Trinity, was made flesh; but He is one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ, consubstantial with God and the Father in respect of divinity, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of humanity, the same capable of suffering in flesh and incapable of suffering in divinity. For we do not acknowledge that God the Word, who performed miracles, is different from the one who suffered; but we confess as one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, who was made flesh and became fully man, and that of one and the same being are the miracles and the sufferings, which he voluntarily endured in the flesh for the sake of our salvation. For it was not some man who gave himself on our behalf, but God the Word Himself who, without change, became man and accepted in the flesh the voluntary suffering and death on our behalf.

Accordingly, although confessing Him as God, we do not reject the fact of His also being man. And in confessing Him as man, we do not deny the fact of His also being God. Hence, while confessing our Lord Jesus Christ as one and the same compounded from the two natures, divinity and humanity, we do not additionally introduce confusion in the union. For He did not lose the fact of being God because he became man like us; nor indeed did He reject the fact of being man because He is God by nature, and holds likeness to us as inadmissible.[13] But as in humanity He has remained God, so also He is no less man while in pre-eminence of divinity, being both in the same, and being

13 This sentence, and the following lines down to the end of the Bidez–Parmentier page ('indeed compounded'), provide a summary of passages which Justin decided to omit from Justinian's edict; Justin's language is less emphatic than Justinian's in recognizing the two natures in Christ.

one, both God alike and man, the Emmanuel. And while confessing that the same is perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity, the things from which He was indeed compounded, **[200]** we do not inflict division into parts or severance on His one composite *hypostasis*, but we signify the difference of natures, which is not destroyed on account of the union. For neither was the divine nature converted into the human, nor was the human nature turned into the divine. But rather, with each being apprehended and existing in the limit and definition of its own nature, we say that the union has been made according to *hypostasis*. The union according to *hypostasis* indicates that God the Word, that is one *hypostasis* of the three *hypostases* of the Divinity, was not united with a pre-existing man, but in the womb of our Lady, the holy and glorious Mother of God and ever-Virgin Mary, He fashioned for Himself from Her in His own *hypostasis* flesh consubstantial with us, alike in passions in every respect apart from sin, animated with a rational and intelligent soul. For in Him[14] it retained the *hypostasis* and became man, and is one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, co-honoured with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Considering His ineffable union, we correctly confess that one nature of God the Word was made incarnate in flesh which was animated with a rational and intelligent soul. And again, taking into consideration the difference of the natures, we say that they are two, while introducing no division at all. For each nature is in Him. Hence we confess one and the same Christ, one Son, one person, one *hypostasis*, alike God and man.

All those who have held or hold opinions contrary to these we anathematize, judging them to be estranged from the holy universal and apostolic Church of God. Accordingly, while the correct doctrines that have been transmitted to us by the holy Fathers are being proclaimed, we enjoin all of you to come together in one and the same universal and apostolic Church, or rather indeed we

14 As Festugière observes (418 n. 11) the word αὐτῷ refers to the composite figure of Christ which Justin has just been describing. The remainder of this paragraph represents Justin's second significant change to Justinian's edict: the intention was to emphasize that the *hypostasis* of God the Word has become incarnate, and it represents a slight shift in Justinian's Christological position towards a one-nature formulation, since the unity of Christ is constantly stressed even while the theoretical distinction of the two natures is noted.

> beseech you – for **[201]** even though we occupy the pre-eminence of imperial rule, we would not shrink from using such words on behalf of the harmony and union of all Christians which results from there being offered to our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, a single creed for all – that hereafter no one should profess to dispute about persons and syllables, because the syllables lead to one and the same correct understanding and faith.[15] The custom and practice that has prevailed until now in the holy universal and apostolic Church of God is steadfast and unchanged through everything, and persists for the whole of time hereafter.

And so everyone consented to this edict, saying that its expressions were orthodox; but none of the parts which had broken off was completely united, because it was explicitly indicated that the steadfast and unchanged state was defended by the churches, and would be in the course of time hereafter.[16]

5 Justin also expelled Anastasius from the see of Theopolis, bringing as an accusation against him the expenditure of holy monies that had occurred, which he said was unbounded and for unsuitable purposes; also that he had blasphemed against him. For when Anastasius was asked why he dispersed the holy monies with such abandon, he publicly stated that it was to avoid their removal by the common pest Justin. He is said to have been angry with Anastasius because the latter, on being ordained to the bishopric, had refused to give him money when he asked. Other matters too were alleged against him by people who, I suppose, wished to serve the emperor's design.[17]

15 A reference to the dispute between Chalcedonians and Monophysites which revolved around the words ἐν and ἐκ: cf. Evagrius i.1 with nn. 12–13; ii.5, pp. 52:27–53:20.

16 The imperial edict expounded the neo-Chalcedonian doctrinal position, but in language slanted towards the 'one nature' position and with no mention of the offending Council: on theological grounds it was acceptable to Monophysite bishops at Constantinople, even if the more rigorous Monophysite monks in the east would probably have rejected it. The final sentence, which proclaimed the maintenance of the *status quo* in the churches, had been added at the insistence of Justin's anti-Monophysite advisers, according to John of Ephesus (*EH* i.19; it is omitted from the version in Michael the Syrian x.4, II. p. 299). This tacitly, but effectively, guaranteed that Chalcedon would still be accepted as an orthodox Council and, coupled with the absence of any oral condemnation of Chalcedon, ensured that the Monophysite 'separatists' remained unreconciled.

17 Anastasius had been appointed to the see of Antioch in 559, when the future Justin II was already a person of influence at court, and there may be some truth in the allegation that

6 After him Gregory ascended to the priestly throne. His fame was widespread, to speak poetically,[18] since from earliest youth he had stripped for the monastic trials and had contended so resolutely and steadfastly that with all speed, **[202]** from the time he became a man, he proceeded to the uppermost levels. He was leader of the monastery of the Byzantines, in which he had chosen the life without possessions,[19] and on the orders of Justin also that of Mount Sinai. There he encountered very great dangers, since he endured a siege by the Scenite barbarians; but, when he had nevertheless succeeded in bringing the greatest peace to the said place, he was called from there to the archbishopric.[20]

He was in intellect and spiritual virtue absolutely supreme among all, most energetic in whatever he embarked on, invulnerable to fear, and most unsusceptible to yielding or cowering before power.[21] He made donations of money with such munificence, employing liberality and generosity on all occasions, that whenever he went out in public, great numbers followed after him, even apart from his normal companions, and all who saw or learned of his approach flocked together. And

their mutual dislike originated then, but more recent grievances must have been more powerful. He was deposed in 570. According to Theophanes, 243:24–9, he had objected to the consecration of John as patriarch of Alexandria by John *scholasticus* of Constantinople.

Allen, *Evagrius* 214–17, argues that Evagrius has deliberately concealed the full circumstances of the deposition, which may have involved Anastasius' considerable prestige as an intermediary between the different doctrinal groups (to Monophysites he was acceptable as an adjudicator in their disputes, and even, under certain conditions, as patriarch of Antioch), as well as his willingness to oppose imperial wishes.

18 *Odyssey* 1.344; cf. i.15 for the conceit.

19 Evagrius' standard expression for the monastic existence, cf. ii.9, p. 61:10; v.16, p. 212:12.

20 The monastery of the Byzantines was located at Jerusalem (Vailhé, 'Répertoire' 518–19); Moschus, in an anecdote datable to 564, records that Gregory was abbot of the monastery of Pharan, just to the north of Jerusalem (*Pratum Spirituale* 139: an anchorite predicted his elevation to patriarch). Justinian had built a fort at the base of Mount Sinai in an attempt to keep control of the Arabs (Procopius, *Buildings* v.8.9), but the statement by the western pilgrim, Antoninus Placentinus (*Itinerary* 38), that the Arabs had placed a marble idol on Mount Sinai and maintained a priest there, coupled with evidence for Arab attacks on pilgrims and the monastery itself, indicates that imperial authority was not fully recognized.

21 Moschus (*Pratum Spirituale* 140) records that some old monks, in discussion, agreed that Gregory excelled in the virtues of almsgiving, forgiveness, tears and compassion towards sinners. Evagrius, of course, had for long been employed by Gregory, so that his praise must be read accordingly.

regard for such great office was secondary to honour for the man, since of their own free will people generally desired to see him at close quarters and to hear his discussion.[22] For he was most capable of producing a longing for himself in everyone, however they encountered him; he was admirable in appearance, most pleasantly sweet in utterance, sharp as any man in instantaneous perception, most particularly sharp in action, and most capable of devising excellent counsel and judging his own affairs and those of others.[23] Hence indeed he achieved so much, putting off nothing to the morrow. In dealing with everything without delay, as necessity summoned and opportunity complied, he astounded not only the Roman emperors but also the Persian, as I shall show in appropriate manner for each. There was in him much vehemence, and sometimes even passion, but again kindliness and gentleness in no small measure but to a considerable excess. Hence there applied most excellently to him the sentiments devised by Gregory the Theologian, 'austerity mingled with modesty',[24] **[203]** so that the one was not damaged by the other, but both had renown through one another.

7 While this man was in his first year of directing the bishopric,[25] men came from what of old was referred to as Great Armenia, but subsequently Persarmenia – this was formerly subject to the Romans, but when Philip the successor of Gordian betrayed it to Sapor, what was called Lesser Armenia was controlled by the Romans but all the rest by the Persians.[26] They professed Christianity and, since they suffered

22 For praise of generosity, cf. ii.1, p. 38:10–13 (Marcian); v.13, p. 209:12–19 (Tiberius). Evagrius' assertion that people flocked to Gregory to see and hear him seems very defensive: Gregory was not the most popular of patriarchs (cf. v.18; vi.7), and there may have been accusations that he used the wealth of his see to purchase public favour; John of Ephesus (*EH* v.17) claimed that he used bribery to escape accusations of sexual misconduct.

23 Gregory's energy in handling affairs, oratory and capacity for planning were demonstrated in his resolution of the eastern mutiny and his involvement with Khusro II (vi.11–14, 18); for similar praise of Domitian of Melitene, cf. vi.18. See further Whitby, 'Patriarchs'.

24 Bidez–Parmentier cite Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* 44, col. 249A (*De Opificio Humani* 30), though the wording is somewhat different.

25 I.e. 570/1.

26 Armenia had been a source of contention between Romans and Parthians or Sasanids since the days of Augustus. The emperor Philip had been forced to make concessions to Shapur I in 244, in order to extricate the Roman army from Persian territory after the death of Gordian, but there is no evidence that these included a partition of Armenia. The allegiance of Armenia in fact remained an issue for most of the fourth century: Diocletian's agreement with Narses in 298 placed the Romans in control, but in 363 Jovian had to agree

ill-treatment from the Persians, and particularly as concerned their own belief, they secretly sent an embassy to Justin to beg to become subjects of the Romans, so that they might without fear perform their honours to God, with nobody being an impediment to them.[27] After Justin admitted them, and certain matters had been agreed in letters by the emperor and confirmed by solemn oaths, the Armenians murdered their rulers and *en masse* attached themselves to the Roman realm, together with their neighbours, both kinsmen and those of different race, with whom they were allied; Vardanes was pre-eminent among them in birth and reputation and military experience.[28] Then, when Chosroes made representations about these, Justin sent to him saying that the peace had been terminated, and that he was unable to turn away Christians who had fled to Christians in time of war. This was his reply.[29] Nevertheless

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that the Romans would no longer help the Armenians against the Persians. A more permanent division into spheres of influence was achieved by Theodosius I in 387, when the Romans and Persians annexed the territories of the brothers Arsaces and Tigranes, who were rival claimants to the throne; whether Evagrius has deliberately transferred responsibility from the orthodox Theodosius to the pagan Philip is questionable.

27 The complaints of the Armenian Christians about religious persecution are recorded in John of Ephesus, *EH* ii.20. They claimed that Khusro had been inspired by the magi to impose a single religion throughout his kingdom, which would have contravened the guarantee of religious freedom in the 50 Years Peace of 561/2, and their fears appeared to be corroborated by the determination of the local marzban (the Persian governor) to construct a fire temple. Although the Armenians were Monophysites, they received communion from the Chalcedonian patriarch at Constantinople until they were reproached by some of their fellow countrymen; thereafter they withdrew to worship by themselves (John of Ephesus, *EH* ii.23).

28 The Armenians murdered the marzban, Suren, in February 572. It is not known what guarantees Justin had provided, but he may have promised military help, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the patrician Justinian was already at Theodosiopolis, near the frontier, at the time of the revolt. Among the neighbouring Caucasian tribes, the Colchians, Abasgi and Alans supported the Armenians in the subsequent fighting. Vardan, son of Vasak, belonged to the noble house of the Mamikonians (*PLRE* III. 1365); his grandfather, also called Vardan, had been the governor of Armenia in the early sixth century.

29 The embassy, conducted by the Persian Christian Sebukht, is described in Menander fr. 16.1. Khusro, in spite of the Armenian revolt and Roman support for the rebels, preferred to ignore the breakdown of the peace and sent Sebukht to collect the annual payment due under the terms of the 50 Years Peace; Justin, whose Roman pride made him reluctant to pay money to foreigners, was also encouraged to oppose the Persians by the prospect of an alliance with the Turks of Central Asia, so that a co-ordinated attack could be launched against different frontiers. Justin had two minor grievances to advance as proof that the Persians had already broken the peace: there had been an attempt to interfere with the

he made no preparations for war, but gave himself over to his customary luxury, placing everything second to his personal pleasures.[30]

8 As general of the East he sent out Marcian, who was related to him, giving him neither an army fit for battle nor any other equipment for war. He reached Mesopotamia, for the manifest peril and ruination of everything, trailing after him a very few soldiers, and those unarmed, having also some farm workers and herdsmen who had been drawn from the tax-payers.[31] And so he had a few engagements against the Persians near **[204]** Nisibis, since the Persians were not yet prepared either. Gaining the upper hand he invested the city, though the Persians did not judge it necessary to shut the gates, but rather hurled extremely shameful insults at the Roman army.[32]

Many other portents indeed were seen which disclosed the coming

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Roman embassy which returned from the Turkish Chagan in 571, and the Persians had also intervened against the Himyarites in the Arabian peninsula. In response to Justin's protestations about the need to support fellow Christians, Sebukht was able to counter that any invasion of Persia would also mean death and destruction for the numerous Christians who lived there. See further, Whitby, *Maurice* 250–4.

30 Cf. iii.1, 3 for similar criticism of Zeno. Justin's dealings with the Turks could, in fact, be construed as strategic preparations.

31 For discussion of recruitment practices, which still included the type of conscription described here 'from the tax-payers', ἐκ τῶν συντελῶν, see Whitby, 'Recruitment' 75–87; Stein, *Studien* 51 n. 7, claimed that these recruits were only non-combatant support personnel, but that is unlikely.

32 Marcian, nephew of Justinian and cousin of Justin (*PLRE* III. 821–3, *s.v.* Marcianus 7), was sent to the East as *magister militum per Orientem* in autumn 572. He promptly sent 3,000 troops on a raid into Arzanene, but otherwise took no hostile initiatives until the following spring, when he defeated the Persians to the west of Nisibis; thereafter he laid siege to Thebothon, to the south, and then, after Easter, to Nisibis itself, on the explicit orders of Justin. The success of the attack is disputed, since, in contrast to Evagrius' negative assessment, John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.2) asserts that Marcian was on the point of capturing the city when he was replaced as commander. See further, Whitby, *Maurice* 254–6.

Evagrius is highly critical of Justin's competence as emperor (cf. v.1, with n. 3 above), and the pessimistic presentation of the military forces available to Marcian is part of this tendency. Marcian would have been expected to use the troops already stationed in the eastern provinces, and so might only have brought his personal bodyguard to the East, in addition to any troops that he had been permitted to conscript in order to bring the eastern contingents up to strength. The rural population was traditionally regarded as the best source of recruits, and basic military training would soon turn the farmers and herdsmen into competent soldiers.

troubles, and at the outset of the war we saw a newly-born calf on which two heads sprang from its neck.

9 Chosroes, after he had made himself sufficiently ready for the war, conducted Adarmaanes for a certain distance, sent him across the Euphrates in his own land, and released him into the Roman domain through the place called Circesium. Circesium is a town that is most strategic for the Romans, being situated at the extremities of the state; not only do its walls, which are raised up to an immeasurable height, make it strong, but also the rivers Euphrates and Aboras which encircle and, as it were, make the city an island. But Chosroes himself with his men crossed the river Tigris and marched towards Nisibis.[33] These events escaped Roman notice for a long time, with the result that Justin, trusting a rumour which said that Chosroes was either dead or at his very last gasp, grew angry at the apparent slowness of the siege of Nisibis, and sent men to urge on Marcian and bring the keys of the gates as quickly as possible.[34] But that the affair was making absolutely no progress at all – or rather, indeed, that he incurred great disgrace in seeking the impossible at such a great city as this, and with so inconsequential an army – was reported first to Gregory, the bishop of Theopolis. For the bishop of Nisibis was a particular friend **[205]** of Gregory, since he had been honoured by him with great gifts, quite apart from his annoyance

33 This account of the opening of Khusro's 573 campaign is rendered almost unintelligible by geographical inaccuracies; were it not for the survival of a clearer account in John of Epiphania (4–5; followed by Theophylact iii.10.6–7), it would be very difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events. In order to surprise the Roman army outside Nisibis, and at the same time outflank the Roman defenders and slip a raiding party into Syria, Khusro chose to march up the east bank of the Euphrates rather than the more normal invasion route which led up the Tigris to a crossing point near Fechkhabour and then west through northern Mesopotamia (on these, see Whitby, *Maurice* 199–200).

The Roman frontier fortress of Circesium was located at the confluence of the Euphrates and Khabour (on its strong site and Justinian's constructions, see Procopius, *Buildings* ii.6.1–11); a few days' journey to the south of the fort, Khusro dispatched 6,000 troops under Adarmahan across the Euphrates to attack Syria, while the main part of the army accompanied Khusro up the Khabour towards Nisibis. See further, Whitby, *Maurice* 256–7.

34 The recovery of Nisibis, which the Romans had surrendered to the Persians after Julian's death in 363, seems to have been a particular objective for Justin since he revived Roman claims to the city (*Chron. 1234* 65): after Marcian had abandoned the siege of Thebothon and returned to Roman territory for Easter 573, Justin sent messengers to instruct him to attack Nisibis; he presumably kept in regular touch with the progress of the siege.

at the Persian insolence towards Christians, which they had constantly experienced from them, and his desire that his own city should be subject to the Romans; he provided Gregory with knowledge of everything that occurred beyond the frontier, describing everything at the appropriate moment. Gregory immediately reported this to Justin, notifying him as quickly as possible of Chosroes' approach.[35]

But he, wallowing in his customary pleasures, paid no attention to the letters and was unwilling to trust them, since he indulged in wishful thinking. For ignobility is characteristic of dissolute people as well as rashness about results, but incredulity if they should happen to turn out contrary to their wishes.[36] So Justin wrote to Gregory, completely dismissing these matters as being utterly false, but that if they were true the Persians would not be able to anticipate the siege or, if they did that, they would come off in a sorry state.[37] And he sent out to Marcian Acacius, a reckless and arrogant man, with instructions to relieve Marcian of his command, even if he had already set one of his two feet in the city. This indeed he performed exactly, administering the emperor's commands without regard for expediency. For, on reaching the camp, he dismissed Marcian from his command in enemy territory, but made no announcement to the army.[38] The captains and brigadiers, on learning

35 For discussion, see Lee, 'Evagrius'. The bishop, Paul, had visited Constantinople for doctrinal discussions in 562, and had subsequently been one of the beneficiaries of Gregory's famous munificence. The civilian population of Nisibis, which was largely Christian, did on occasions show signs of disloyalty to the Persians, and in 572 the local Persian marzban expelled all Christians from the city as he made preparations to withstand a siege (*Chron. 1234* 65).

Isho-Yahb of Arzun is a counter-example of a Nestorian bishop in a frontier city who supplied information to the Persians (*Chron. Seert* 42, p. 438), and in due course he was rewarded by being made *catholicus* of the Christians in Persia by Hormizd.

36 Cf. criticism of Zeno's despondency (iii.3), and v.11 for the consequences of such wishful thinking; contrast the effectiveness of the disciplined Maurice (v.19).

37 Even the well-informed Gregory is unlikely to have had much notice of Khusro's rapid approach, since the Persian king took trouble to keep his movements as secret as possible. The Roman attack on Nisibis did not begin until mid-April and lasted for less than a month, which gives little time for the transmission to Constantinople and back of news of its progress and the threat from Khusro. Evagrius, with his overriding concern to criticize Justin for mismanagement of the war, did not consider such complexities, which also bedevil other accounts of the sequence of events in this campaign: see Whitby, *Maurice* 256–8.

38 Marcian's replacement was probably to be Theodore Tzirus (Theophanes Byzantinus 4), but he was not on hand to take over when Acacius (*PLRE* III. 9–10, *s.v.* Acacius 4) delivered his insulting message.

after the night had passed that their general had been dismissed, no longer appeared before the troops, but withdrew and fled in different directions, lifting the ridiculous siege.[39]

And so Adarmaanes, with a considerable army of Persians and Scenite barbarians, passed by Circesium and ravaged Roman possessions in every way **[206]** by burning and killing, neither contemplating nor doing anything moderate. He captured forts and many villages with no opposition, first because nobody held command, and then too because with the soldiers blockaded in Dara by Chosroes the plundering and attacks were committed with impunity.[40] And he even sent his men to attack the city of the Theopolitans, for he did not approach it himself. They were in fact repulsed contrary to all expectation, since nobody remained in the city, or most exceedingly few, and the priest had fled and secretly carried off the holy treasures, both because much of the wall had collapsed, and because the populace had rebelled in its desire to begin a revolution, as is accustomed to happen and particularly at such moments. They themselves also fled, leaving the city deserted, with absolutely nothing planned for counter-contrivance or counter-attack.[41]

10 And so since Adarmaanes failed in this attempt, he burnt the place which of old was named Heracleia but subsequently Gangalike, and captured Apamea, a city established by Seleucus Nicanor, which of old

39 The main problem for the Romans was that Khusro happened to be approaching Nisibis from the south just as Acacius arrived to announce the removal of their leader. As a result there was a disorderly flight towards Dara and Mardin, with most of the siege equipment being abandoned for reuse by the Persians.

Festugière (426) translates as 'the mass of the troops refused to advance further', and he then takes 'the troops' as the subject of the next clauses. But it is preferable to interpret both parts of the μὲν . . . δὲ construction as describing the officers' reactions to the discovery of Marcian's dismissal: they were no longer visible to give a lead to their troops, but instead saved themselves – to be followed by the leaderless rank and file.

40 Roman forces were now in complete disarray: apart from the substantial garrison at Dara, the shattered remnants of Marcian's army had taken refuge at Mardin, where they were commanded by the imperial treasurer, Magnus (John of Epiphania 5), on whom see further n. 43 below.

41 According to John of Epiphania (4; also Theophylact iii.10.8), Adarmahan's forces destroyed the rich suburbs of Antioch; this might suggest that the city's defences were rather more effective than Evagrius claims: he may well have exaggerated their dilapidation (cf. Whitby, 'Antioch' 539–42; also vi.8 with n. 31 below), in order to explain the flight of his patron, Gregory. For other indications of Gregory's unpopularity with sections of the urban population (in spite of the encomium in v.6), see vi.7.

was prosperous and populous but which had been largely ruined by time. After taking over the city on certain conditions, since they had been unable to resist as the wall was lying on the ground through age, he burnt it completely and pillaged everything contrary to the agreements; he departed and went away, after enslaving the city and the adjacent districts. Among the captives he led away both the city's priest and the man who supervised the government.[42] He also carried out every atrocity during the withdrawal, since there was nobody to restrain or resist him at all, except for an extremely small army sent out by Justin under the command of Magnus, who had formerly been controller of a bank in the emperor's city but had later been entrusted by Justin with one of the imperial domains; **[207]** these indeed fled headlong and came close to being taken as prisoners.[43]

And so Adarmaanes, after accomplishing these things, joined Chosroes who had not yet finished besieging the city.[44] His addition gave them a great advantage, encouraging his own side and disheartening the opposition. He found that the city had been blockaded and that a large mound had been heaped up near the wall and many siege engines

42 Heraclea: near Beroe, though the precise location is unknown; J. D. Grainger, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria* (Oxford, 1990) 103.

Apamea was one of the four great cities of Seleucid Syria, founded by the first of the dynasty, Seleucus Nicator in the early third century BC. Khusro I had removed a substantial amount of wealth when he was admitted to the city in 540, but had not damaged the buildings (cf. iv.26 above, where Evagrius mentions the destruction by Adarmahan of the painting of the miracle of the Cross). John of Epiphania (4, followed by Theophylact iii.10.9) states that a ransom was agreed for the city, but Adarmahan then went back on his word; John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.6) also refers to Persian duplicity, and says that substantial plunder was found in the city, since it was full of ancient wealth (for its current splendour, cf. also Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerary* 46); the haul of captives was allegedly 292,000. The current archaeological investigations, conducted by J. and J. C. Balty, suggest that the city did enjoy considerable prosperity until 573, and that there was limited rebuilding thereafter.

43 Magnus (*PLRE* III. 805–7, *s.v.* Magnus 2) was a financial administrator, being successively *comes sacrarum largitionum*, and *curator* of the imperial estates of Marina and Hormisdas during the reigns of Justin and Tiberius (see Feissel, 'Magnus'; and on the *domus divinae*, Kaplan, *Hommes* 140–2). However, he was a native of Syria, and was also trusted by al-Mundhir, the Ghassanid leader, and the latter factor perhaps explains his presence as a military commander in the East: al-Mundhir had fallen out with Justin, and was currently refusing to participate in the war, so that Magnus may have been intended to heal the rift; after their discomfiture, Magnus and his troops took refuge in the mountain fortress of Mardin (Whitby, *Maurice* 257–8).

44 I.e. Dara (the blockade has already been mentioned in v.9, p. 206:4–5).

positioned, and especially catapults that custom calls stone-throwers, which fire from vantage points. With these indeed Chosroes captured the city by force during the winter season, since John son of Timostratus who was in charge of it had devoted minimal attention or even acted treacherously: for both are said. Chosroes invested the city for five months and more, with no interference. Accordingly he led forth everyone, a countless number, some of whom he miserably slew while most he took as prisoners; he occupied the city with a garrison since it was in a strategic place, while he retired to his own territories.[45]

11 When Justin had heard these events, after such delusion and pretension he had no healthy or sane thoughts, nor did he endure what had happened like a mortal, but he fell into mental disorder and madness, and thereafter had no understanding of events.[46] Tiberius administered the state, a Thracian by race, who held the most important positions under Justin; the latter had earlier sent him against the Avars, after gathering a great multitude of an army. He came close to capture since the soldiers did not endure even the sight of the barbarians, but for the fact that divine Providence miraculously preserved him and guarded him for the Roman rule, which, together with the whole state as well, was in danger of collapsing from the unreasonable enterprises of Justin and of relinquishing such a great realm to the barbarians.[47]

45 Throughout Adarmahan's raid into Syria, Khusro was occupied with the siege of Dara, the most important Roman fortress in the frontier region (Whitby, 'Dara'). There is a long account of the siege and capture of the city in John of Ephesus, *EH* vi.5: Khusro was able to use the Roman siege equipment captured outside Nisibis, which included several stone-throwers; he managed to divert the city's water supply, and to build a mound that overtopped the northern part of the defences; in November 573 he eventually exploited a moment when the walls were poorly manned, the Persians scaled the defences and gradually gained the upper hand; the desperate Roman resistance was ended by an agreement allowing the Persian army into the city, though the Persians promptly broke their side of the bargain.

John, son of Timostratus (*PLRE* III. 675, *s.v.* Ioannes 87), is described by John of Ephesus as a warlike man; the only hint of Roman treachery in John's account is the failure of the negotiator, Comes (perhaps a title rather than a name), to report to the defenders that Khusro was prepared to accept a ransom of 500 pounds of gold.

46 The news of the loss of Dara will have travelled to Constantinople very rapidly, and would have been known to Justin before the end of November. There is a long account of Justin's madness in John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.2–5); he apparently had occasional lucid spells.

For criticism of those unable to cope with sudden changes of fortune, cf. v.14–15, pp. 210:18–19, 211:22–33 (Khusro I), and contrast the resilience of Maurice (vi.17).

47 Tiberius (*PLRE* III. 1323–6, *s.v.* Tiberius 1) had been introduced to Justin by Patriarch Eutychius; he was *comes excubitorum* at Justinian's death, and so was well

12 He therefore devised a plan which was opportune and **[208]** appropriate for the situation, which rectified the whole error. For they dispatched to Chosroes Trajan, an eloquent man from the senatorial council, honoured by all for his years and intelligence. He was not to perform the embassy as a representative of the imperial power, nor even indeed of the state, but was to conduct discussions on behalf of Sophia alone. And she herself had written to Chosroes, bewailing her husband's misfortunes and the state's lack of a leader, and saying that he ought not to trample upon a widowed woman, a prostrate emperor and a deserted state; for indeed when he had been sick not only had he obtained comparable treatment, but the best doctors of all had also been sent to him by the Roman state, and they in fact dispelled his sickness. Chosroes was accordingly persuaded. And when he had been on the very point of attacking Roman possessions, he made a truce for three years in the eastern regions, although he decided that Armenia remain in its current state, so that they might wage war there while no one troubled the East.[48] When these things had been done in the east, Sirmium was

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placed to smooth the succession for his patron. He conducted two campaigns against the Avars, probably in 570/1 in the context of Avar pressure on Sirmium; in the first he was victorious, but the second resulted in defeat and flight, after which a treaty terminated hostilities (Menander fr. 15.5). After Justin's madness the empress Sophia regarded him as a loyal ally, even as a possible husband, and for a time they administered affairs jointly.

For the saving action of Providence, cf. ii.6, p. 53:30–1, v.18, p.214:5–6.

48 Evagrius has conflated two separate sets of negotiations, and hence produced a rather confused account; considerable clarification is provided by Menander frr. 18.1–4, and see Whitby, *Maurice* 258–61. Discussions were in fact initiated by Khusro, who saw an opportunity to exploit the Roman crisis, and he dispatched Jacob (the name indicates that he was a Persian Christian) with a haughty message; Sophia decided that a personal reply from herself would be best, and she entrusted a letter for Khusro to one of the royal physicians, Zachariah; he purchased a one-year truce (574–5), covering the East but excluding Armenia, for 45,000 *solidi*, to permit time for formal negotiations for an end to the war. The next stage of discussions was conducted by the *quaestor* Trajan (*PLRE* III. 1334, *s.v.* Traianus 3), in conjunction with Zachariah; after some haggling about the duration, a truce for a further three years was agreed (575–8), again excluding Armenia, at a cost of 30,000 *solidi* per year.

Sophia's initiative reflects her own dominant personality and the fact that, as niece of Theodora, she was of imperial status in her own right: for discussion of her, see Averil Cameron, 'Empress'. Her appeal also illustrates the mutually supportive relationship that existed between the two long-established enemies of the Near East, as well as the importance of proper public behaviour by their respective rulers: on this see Whitby, *Maurice*, 204–6, 304–8; and 'King'. During Justinian's reign the doctor Tribunus (*PLRE* III. 1342,

captured by the Avars; it had earlier been controlled by Gepids, but had been handed over by them to Justin.[49]

13 Meanwhile Justin, at the prompting of Sophia, proclaimed Tiberius as Caesar, uttering such things at this announcement as have transcended all history, both ancient and modern, since the merciful God gave Justin an opportunity both to declare his own errors and to suggest good measures for the future benefit of the state. For after the archbishop John, whom we have previously mentioned, and his entourage, and the officials of rank, and those in military service around the palace had been gathered in the open-air courtyard, where ancient custom states that such matters take place, Justin clothed Tiberius in the imperial robe, placed on him the cloak and, crying aloud, declared, 'Let not **[209]** the apparent dignity of the vestment mislead you, nor the illusion of what is visible; seduced by these I did not realize that I had become liable to the extreme penalties. Rectify my mistakes by leading the state through all prosperity.' And, indicating the officials, he said that he ought to have the most minimal confidence in these, adding, 'These brought me to the state that you see', and other similar matters which brought everyone to amazement and a shedding of tears beyond measure.[50]

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s.v. Tribunus 2) had twice visited Persia to cure Khusro; on the second occasion he remained for a whole year, and secured the release of numerous captives on his return.

49 Evagrius' chronology is somewhat confused. Sirmium, a former imperial capital located between the Danube and Sava rivers, had been recovered from the Gepids during their confrontation with the Lombards at the start of Justin's reign. The Avars, however, claimed it on the grounds that they had been granted the Gepids' possessions as booty in return for assistance to the Lombards. In about 570, the Romans withstood Avar pressure on the city, and in the mid-570s peace was secured by an annual payment to the Avar Chagan. This arrangement broke down in 578, after the Avars managed to isolate the city by constructing bridges over the Sava both upstream and downstream. Tiberius refused demands to hand over the city, but was unable to organize an effective relief force; after a three-year blockade the city was surrendered in 581/2 (Menander frr. 25, 27; John of Ephesus, *EH* vi.30, 32).

50 The ceremony took place on Friday, 7 December 574. The location was probably the Delphax, a sizeable courtyard with a tribunal, from which proclamations were made (also known as the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches, after the adjacent formal dining room); this was the site of the proclamation of Justinian as co-emperor in 527, and perhaps also of Justin in 565, and was incorrectly assumed by Theophylact (i.1.2) to be where Maurice was crowned in 582. See Averil Cameron, *Corippus* 156–7.

Tiberius was indeed very tall in body and most exceptionally good-looking, quite beyond compare not only with emperors but with everyone even: thus from the start his appearance was worthy of sovereignty. But in spirit he was both gentle and merciful, welcoming everyone at once at first sight, considering wealth to be a sufficiency for everyone as regards donations, not just with regard to need but also for superfluity. For he did not consider what those in need ought to receive, but what it befitted a Roman emperor to give, and he regarded as adulterated the gold which had come in as a result of tears. Consequently, for example, he remitted for the contributors the tax assessment of one entire year, and the properties that Adarmaanes had ravaged he freed from the imposed dues, not with regard to a measurement of the damage but much more besides. He also excused the officials the illegal gifts by which previously emperors had sold their subjects; and concerning these matters he also wrote constitutions, and thereby made the future secure.[51]

14 Accordingly, employing for essential purposes the monies that had been wickedly collected, he made preparations for the war; and he collected such an army of heroic men, by recruiting the best men both from the tribes beyond the Alps in the vicinity of the Rhine, and those on this side of the Alps, the Massagetae and other Scythian nations, and those near Paeonia, and Mysians, Illyrians and Isaurians, that **[210]** he established squadrons of excellent horsemen almost 150,000 in

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The ceremony and speech are recorded at greatest length by John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.5), who states that notaries made records of what occurred, as well as by Theophylact (iii.11.7–13); the themes of the speech, which overlap with Evagrius' own assessments of rulers (e.g. Maurice: v.19; vi.1), were the need to avoid Justin's own errors, to disregard the seductive pomp and ceremony of imperial power, and to administer affairs diligently. See further Averil Cameron, 'Abdication'.

51 Tiberius' generosity was famous, even notorious: see Averil Cameron, '*Kaiserkritik*' 12–14; John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.11) records that Sophia became so concerned about the depletion of the public finances that she removed from Tiberius the keys to the treasuries and fixed an allowance for his liberality. In April 575 Tiberius issued a law which reduced tax payments in gold by one quarter for each of the next four years (i.e. cumulatively a remission of one whole year), but maintained payments in kind (*Novel* 163). He had already legislated in December 574 against the practice of demanding payments from officials for entry to their posts (*Novel* 161). In each case the preface to the law briefly outlined the emperor's reasons for his decision. Cf. ii.1, p. 38:10–13, for praise of Marcian's generosity; see also Whitby, 'Patriarchs'.

number.[52] He repulsed Chosroes who, after the capture of Dara, had in the summer immediately moved against Armenia and from there directed his advance towards the city of Caesar, which is the capital of the Cappadocians and the foremost of the cities there. This man so despised the Roman realm that when the Caesar sent him an embassy he did not deign to grant the ambassadors access to him, but ordered them to follow him as far as the city of Caesar: for he said that he would consider the embassy there.[53]

Now when he saw opposite him the Roman army, which was organized by Justinian, the brother of the Justin who had been miserably slain by Justin,[54] meticulously equipped, the trumpets resounding the war

52 Although the number of recruits reported by Evagrius is fantastic, the major recruitment drive is also attested by Theophylact (iii.12.3–4), and the results recorded in Theophanes, who refers to an army of 15,000 men known as Tiberiani (251:24–7), and John of Ephesus, who alleges that the general Justinian had command of an army of 60,000 Lombards (*EH* vi.13). Literary considerations have, unfortunately, led Evagrius to dress up this information on military recruitment in elaborately obscure language, but it would appear that Tiberius was attempting to hire soldiers from all possible sources: Franks, Burgundians and perhaps even Saxons from beyond the Alps, from within the Alps, i.e. Italy, Goths (Massagetae) and Lombards, Bulgars and Gepids from Pannonia and along the Danube, as well as the empire's own inhabitants from traditional recruiting grounds in the Balkans and Isauria. For discussion of foreigners in Roman armies, see Whitby, 'Recruitment' 103–10.

53 Evagrius' chronology is again at fault, partly as a result of his compression of the process of negotiating the two truces in 574 and 575 (see n. 48 above): Dara had been captured in November 573, but it was not until 576 that Khusro launched his grand invasion of Armenia. Most of 574 had been occupied with discussions about peace, and Khusro perhaps also needed time to assimilate the surprising successes of his 573 campaign and dispose of the prisoners and booty; in 575, as the one-year truce came to an end, there was skirmishing in Mesopotamia and the threat of a Persian invasion, but this was terminated by the agreement of the three-year truce. The following year Khusro marched across Persarmenia to Theodosiopolis, which he failed to capture, and then advanced towards Caesarea in Cappadocia, though he was forced to retire northwards towards Sebaste.

The Roman ambassador, Theodore son of Bacchus, was on a minor mission to thank Khusro for his co-operation in arranging the three-year truce; he reached the frontier after Khusro had set out for Theodosiopolis, and was then required to accompany the Persian advance to that city; this was intended to strike terror into the Romans, though at a personal level Khusro treated the envoy well (Menander, fr. 18.6). John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.8) also records Khusro's arrogant boast to the ambassador – but connects it with Theodosiopolis – that the king would dismiss Theodore after he had entered the city and bathed there. Theodore was in fact given leave to depart after Khusro realized that he was not going to capture Theodosiopolis. Discussion in Whitby, *Maurice* 260–5.

54 Justinian (*PLRE* III. 744–7, *s.v.* Iustinianus 3), was the younger brother of the murdered Justin; he was in command in Armenia when war broke out in 572, but had become *magister militum per Orientem* by 575, when he thwarted the Persian threat to Mesopotamia.

cry, the standards raised for battle, the soldiery bent on slaughter and breathing rage though combined with exceptional good order, and cavalry of such numbers and quality as no monarch had ever dreamed, then with many appeals to the gods he groaned deeply at the unexpected and unforeseen event, and was unwilling to begin battle. But as he was deferring and delaying, wasting the opportunity and feigning a fight, Cours a Scythian who commanded the right wing attacked him. Since the Persians opposite him were incapable of enduring his onslaught and had clearly abandoned their formation, he effected great slaughter on his opponents. He also attacked the rear where Chosroes and his whole army had their baggage; he captured absolutely all the royal treasures as well indeed as the entire baggage, with Chosroes looking on and enduring since he thought this more tolerable than that Cours should turn against himself.[55]

And so, after he and his men had become masters of great wealth **[211]** and booty and carried off the baggage animals along with their burdens, among which indeed was the sacred fire of Chosroes which he regarded as god, he rode around the Persian camp chanting victoriously. About the hour that lamps are lit he returned to his own side which had already dissolved their formations, without either Chosroes or them starting a fight, except that there had been some skirmishing and a certain number of individual combats between men from the two

55 The most detailed account of these events is in John of Ephesus, *EH* vi.8–9, which presents a rather different, and probably more accurate, account; the version of Evagrius reappears, via the intermediary of John of Epiphania, in Theophylact, who gives a stylized report of a 'memorable' pitched battle (Theophylact iii.12.12–14.11, complete with exhortation by Justinian to his troops); on this, see Whitby, *Maurice* 265–6. The Romans did manage to embarrass Khusro by capturing the royal baggage, but this occurred when the Persian army came close to being encircled in the Armenian mountains; Khusro lost his baggage, the royal harem and his personal fire altar (Sebeos 1), but managed to extricate his army and retreat towards the Euphrates at Melitene (Malatya); here, lack of co-operation between the Roman commanders permitted Khusro to burn the undefended city, but he was then challenged to battle on the plain between Melitene and the Euphrates; the armies confronted each other, but without coming to grips, and during the night the Persians tried to slip across the river. They were caught by the Romans, with the result that half their army perished in the disorganized crossing.

Cours (*PLRE* III. 360–1), who was probably a Hun, served as a commander in Armenia from 574 until at least 582. Although Cours may well have participated in the pillaging of Khusro's camp on this campaign, Evagrius has perhaps conflated this with another success by Cours against a Persian army in Armenia, probably in 579, recorded by John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.28).

armies, as normally happens. At night Chosroes lit many fires and prepared for a night battle. As the Romans had two camps, he attacked those on the northern side in the depths of the night. Since they withdrew at this unexpected surprise, he attacked the nearby city of Melitene, which was undefended and deserted by its inhabitants; and after burning everything he prepared to cross the river Euphrates. But when the combined Roman army followed, fearing for his own safety he mounted an elephant and crossed the river, while the greater number of his men were buried in the river's currents. On realizing that they had been drowned he set off and departed.

And so Chosroes, after paying this extreme penalty for such great insolence towards the Romans, together with the survivors reached the eastern regions where he had the truce, so that nobody might attack him.[56] But Justinian with his entire army invaded the Persian kingdom and spent the whole winter season there, with nobody causing him any trouble whatsoever. Then he returned at about the summer solstice, with no losses at all from his army, and spent the summer right on the frontiers in great prosperity and glory.[57]

15 A manifold grief overwhelmed Chosroes, who was distraught and helpless and submerged by the ebb and flow of anguish; it miserably deprived him of his life, after he had set up as an everlasting memorial of his flight a law which he made that **[212]** a Persian king should no longer campaign against the Romans. His son Hormisdas became king, whom I must now leave aside, since the next matters summon me to them and eagerly await the flow of the account.[58]

56 John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.9) records that Khusro fled across Arzanene on his elephant, and that a special road through the mountains of Carduchia had to be cut for the animal.

57 Justinian raided from Armenia (hence not covered by the truce) as far as the Caspian Sea, and threatened one of the Persian royal capitals, probably in Azerbaijan (Theophylact iii.15.1–2); after his return to Roman territory in 577, negotiations were pursued in order to convert the truce into a permanent peace, but these discussions stalled when the Persian general Tamkhusro defeated Justinian, whose troops had become over-confident, in an encounter in Armenia. See Whitby, *Maurice* 267–8.

58 Evagrius has again compressed the chronology of events. Khusro died in February or March 579, to be succeeded by Hormizd IV. According to Agathias (iv.29.8–10), Khusro's death had been brought on by the distressing sight of the Romans ravaging Arzanene the previous year, which was visible from his summer retreat in Carduchia.

The law about royal campaigning is also recorded by Theophylact (iii.14.11), who says that it prohibited all foreign expeditions by the king, and John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.9),

16 When John, who was also called Catellinos, departed from the life here, Bonosus was entrusted with the helm of the bishopric of Rome, and after him another John, and in turn Pelagius. But for that of the queen city, after John there was Eutychius, his predecessor. And after Apollinarius, John inherited the see of Alexandria, and after him Eulogius. And to the episcopacy of Jerusalem after Macarius came John, who had striven in the life without possessions in the monastery called that of the Sleepless. There were no innovations in the state of the Church.[59]

17 When Tiberius Caesar was steering the empire for the third year, at precisely midday itself a violent agitation of the earth occurred in the city of the Theopolitans and neighbouring Daphne. All Daphne indeed fell victim to the shaking, while in Theopolis both public and private buildings were split apart right to the ground, but did not, however, bow their knee to the foundations.[60] There also occurred several other things worthy of a long account, both in Theopolis itself and in the imperial city, which threw both into confusion and whipped them up into the greatest uproars; these had their origin in religious enthusiasm and had a godly end, as I shall go on to tell.

18 A certain Anatolius, who originally was one of the masses and a tradesman but who subsequently insinuated himself – how I do not know – into official positions and other affairs, was residing in the city of the Theopolitans, where indeed he pursued his current business affairs. Through these he became a particular associate of Gregory, the

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according to whom the king was only allowed to go out to fight against another king; this last version, which is phrased in terms of the crucial factor of personal royal prestige, is probably the most accurate. See Whitby, 'King' 227–8. Khusro was also troubled by unrest in the Persian army, sparked off by the public failure of his recent campaign (Theophylact iii.15.3–6).

59 At Rome, John III died in July 574, to be succeeded after almost a year's interval by Benedict (575–9), who was followed by Pelagius II (579–90); the reference to a second John is an error (cf. iv.39, with n. 138 above, for another error about the papal succession). At Constantinople, John *scholasticus* died on 31 August 577, and Tiberius brought back from exile his predecessor Eutychius, who was a long-standing friend of the emperor. At Alexandria, Apollinarius was followed as Chalcedonian patriarch by John II (570–80) and Eulogius (581–608). Macarius of Jerusalem died in 574/5, to be succeeded by John IV (575–94). There were no changes to report at Antioch.

60 This earthquake in 577 (Tiberius' third year as Caesar) is not otherwise recorded.

prelate of the said city, and he frequently visited him, both to discuss his affairs and **[213]** to solicit even greater power through his links with him.[61] This man was caught in the act of sacrificing, and on being summoned to account he was discovered to be an abomination, a sorcerer, a man entangled in countless barbarities. But he bribed the governor of the East and came close to being set free along with his associates – for he had others too of similar habits who were apprehended as well – but for the fact that the populace rose up, threw everything into commotion and disrupted the scheme.[62] They also chanted against the priest, declaring that he too was associated with the plan. Some disruptive and malignant Devil persuaded some people that he had also participated in the sacrifices with Anatolius, and as a result Gregory came into extreme danger, since great attacks were made on him by the people.[63] The suspicion was raised to such an extent that

61 The subsequent events are also recorded by John of Ephesus, in greater detail but with a pronounced Monophysite interest (*EH* iii.27–34). Although Evagrius' narrative might appear to deserve credence because he would have had access to numerous first-hand accounts, and may well have been in Antioch during the disturbances, John refers to the official records of the case and his greater circumstantial information about the development of the incident in the East is credible. Evagrius has treated the initial stages of the scandal very sketchily, to focus on what interested him, the threat to Gregory, the miraculous icon and the eventual punishment of the pagans which was validated by various divine signs.

In contrast to his praise of Patriarch Anastasius (iv.40, pp. 190:31–191:6; also Maurice: v.19, pp. 214:33–215:3), Evagrius does not compliment Gregory on discernment in selecting his associates (v.6): Anatolius would be an example of his poor choice; see also Whitby, 'Patriarchs'.

John describes Anatolius as a governor, presumably of Osrhoene since his official residence was at Edessa, and deputy to the prefect, i.e. the praetorian prefect of the East (cf. *PLRE* III. 72–3, *s.v.* Anatolius 8). The incident is discussed in Rochow 'Heidenprozesse', and Trombley, 'Transition' 168–79.

62 In John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.27–8) the sequence of events is much more complicated. The affair began at Heliopolis (Baalbek), a notoriously pagan city where Christians had found it impossible to break the local monopoly of power exercised by rich pagans; an imperial representative, Theophilus, conducted an investigation which revealed several names, including that of a certain high priest Rufinus, who resided at Antioch; when men were sent to Antioch to arrest him, they were told that he was at Edessa, staying with the local governor and prefectal vicar, Anatolius. At Edessa, Theophilus' emissaries came upon a pagan celebration in Anatolius' house; most of the celebrants escaped, but Rufinus committed suicide, while Anatolius, in spite of a clever attempt to establish an alibi, was arrested and bailed to answer the charge of pagan practice at Antioch.

63 Evagrius has already provided some evidence for popular disturbances at Antioch (v.9, p. 206:11–12), and this further account of hostility towards the patriarch undermines

even the emperor Tiberius desired to learn the truth from the mouth of Anatolius, and so he ordered that Anatolius and his associates should come as quickly as possible to the emperor's city. When Anatolius learnt this, he rushed to an icon of the Mother of God which was hanging in the prison by a small cord and, clasping his hands behind, declared that he was a suppliant and petitioner. But She, in loathing, convicted the polluted God-hating man and turned Herself completely the opposite way round, a dreadful wonder and one worthy of remembrance for ever. This was seen by all the prisoners, as well as by those entrusted with the custody of him and his associates, and it was reported to everyone.[64] She was also seen in a dream by some of the faithful, inciting them against the miscreant and stating that Anatolius insulted Her Son.

When he was brought to the emperor's city, after undergoing every extremity of torture he was unable to say anything at all against the priest; together with his associates he became the cause of even greater turmoil there, and of a riot of the whole populace in the city. For, after some of them received a verdict of banishment as opposed to execution, the people were enflamed by some divine enthusiasm and disrupted everything in their rage and anger. And, snatching those who had been banished they embarked them on a small boat and **[214]** committed them to the flames while alive, since the people had imposed this verdict. They also denounced the emperor and their priest Eutychius, on the grounds

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the account of Gregory's popularity in Evagrius' character sketch (v.6). According to John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.29), Gregory was denounced by one of Anatolius' secretaries, who, under torture, alleged that together with the Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria, Eulogius, Gregory had sacrificed a boy at Daphne; the sacrifice had produced a terrible quaking, perhaps a reference to the recent earthquake of 577 which devastated Daphne (ch. 17). Feelings ran so high that Gregory did not dare leave his episcopal palace or celebrate the liturgy.

The Devil was a convenient device for explaining awkward events, especially those involving individuals with whom the reporter sympathized.

64 In John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.29) the miracle of the icon is rather different: Anatolius tried to convince people of his Christian convictions by bringing them to his house, where there was an icon of Christ, but when he displayed this to the people the icon turned itself to the wall; this happened three times, at which the icon was scrutinized closely and discovered to have inside it on the back an image of Apollo; the icon was thrown to the ground and trampled underfoot. Both BEL (442) and Festugière (434) interpret the phrase 'clasping his hands behind' to signify that Anatolius clasped his hands behind, or had them tied behind, his back, but I am inclined to believe that he clasped the icon in his hands, clinging tightly to it to secure its protection, so that its miraculous reversal was all the more striking.

that they had betrayed the faith. They came close to making away with Eutychius and those entrusted with the investigation, since they went round everywhere and sought them out, but for the fact that Providence, the salvation of everything, snatched those men away from those searching and gradually assuaged the wrath of such a large multitude, before any barbarity occurred at their hands. And Anatolius himself was first committed to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, and after his body had been pulled apart by them, he was then impaled – though even thus he did not find release from his punishments here, for wolves dragged down his defiled body, something never recorded before, and divided it up as a feast.[65] There was one of our number who, even before these things happened, said that he saw in dreams that the verdict against Anatolius and his associates had been granted to the populace. And a great man who was in control of the royal households and who was a particularly vigorous supporter of Anatolius, had said that he saw the Mother of God saying for how long would he support Anatolius, who had so insulted Herself and Her Son.[66] And these things ended thus.[67]

65 Again there are more details of the trial and associated rioting in John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.30–1); the trial was held at the palace of Placidia, *in camera*, which aroused suspicions, and these were increased when Tiberius, who was known for his leniency in religious matters (he had been happy to tolerate Arian worship until forced to act by the angry populace: John of Ephesus, *EH* iii.26), left the city for a suburban palace. The mob threatened the patriarchal palace, and then burst into the palace of Placidia, where, after much destruction, they grabbed a man and a woman who had been arrested as pagans, and took them to the harbour to be burnt in a boat (an unfortunate official was also put in the boat, but managed to jump out and escape); the mob next approached the office of the praetorian prefect, but he pacified them by promising to go and summon Tiberius back to the city. Anatolius duly died through a combination of exposure to the beasts and crucifixion, but the inquisition continued for the rest of Tiberius' reign, with cryptopagans being denounced and punished (John of Ephesus, *EH* iii.33–4).

For saving Providence, cf. ii.6 with n. 86 above, v.11 with n. 47 above.

66 It is tempting to speculate that this *curator domus divinae* was Magnus (whose name means 'a great man'), who was *curator* of the palace of Hormisdas during Tiberius' reign. As a native of Syria and an important financial officer, he is the type of person who might have had close contacts with Anatolius (cf. n. 43 above).

67 The *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Younger includes several allusions to prominent pagans in Antioch and its vicinity, and to pagans who consulted the saint (chs. 57, 125, 141, 143, 157–8, 161, 184, 188–9). These references may be intended to increase Symeon's reputation as a bastion of orthodoxy (Van den Ven, notes on *Life* 157), but they should not be dismissed out of hand: there were probably several people whose religious position was still ambivalent, and Baalbek demonstrates that even in a major city it was possible for pagans to remain influential (cf. Allen, *Evagrius* 231–2).

19 But Tiberius, who had now been invested with the crown following the death of Justin, terminated Justinian's command since he did not enjoy comparable fortune against the barbarians. And he appointed Maurice general of the East, a man who derived his family and name from the elder Rome, although from his immediate ancestry he registered his homeland as Arabissus in the province of the Cappadocians.[68] He was an intelligent and shrewd man, absolutely exact in all things and unshakable. Being balanced and precise in lifestyle and habits, he was master both of his belly, taking only what was necessary and readily available, and also of all the other things in which the dissolute life takes pride. For the masses, he was not easily accessible for petitions, nor of ready ear, knowing that the one is conducive to contempt, the other leads to flattery. **[215]** And so he provided access to himself sparingly, and this for serious matters, while his ears he blocked to the superfluous, not with wax as in poetry,[69] but rather with reason. Hence reason was an excellent key for them, opening and closing them when appropriate in conversations. He had so thrust away ignorance, the mother of boldness, and cowardice which is foreigner but also a neighbour to her, that risks were prudence and hesitation security. Since courage and wisdom were the charioteers for opportunities and directed the reins towards whatever necessity dictated, both relaxation and intensification of impulses happened in him with a certain measure and rhythm. Concerning him there will be a fuller account in what follows. His greatness and character I must reserve for his reign, which revealed the man more clearly since through absolute power it unfolded even his inner nature.[70]

68 Justinian was defeated by the Persian Tamkhusro in Armenia in 577 (cf. n. 57 above), but the new appointment was occasioned by his death and the subsequent squabbling among his subordinates, according to John of Ephesus (*EH* vi.27). Maurice, a former notary who had succeeded Tiberius as count of the excubitors, was then appointed *magister militum per Orientem* by Tiberius, who was still Caesar; Tiberius was only crowned Augustus on 26 September 578, shortly before Justin's death on 4 October. Maurice had no previous military experience, but had been closely involved in the peace negotiations throughout 577. There is no confirmation for Maurice's alleged western origins, which Stein (*Studien* 70–1) ascribed to Evagrius' desire to flatter; Arabissus in Cappadocia, however, benefited substantially from his patronage (John of Ephesus, *EH* v.22–3).

69 *Odyssey* 12.48.

70 For further praise of Maurice, cf. vi.1 below; also Menander fr. 23.2 (which notes his precision and wisdom); most of the specific attributes are illustrated through the narrative of Maurice's actions. For praise for inaccessibility, cf. iv.40 (Anastasius of Antioch). Contrast the criticism of Zeno (iii.1, 3) and Justin (v.1), rulers who were mastered by their

And so this Maurice, by making expeditions beyond the frontiers, captured cities and forts which were most strategic for the Persians, and appropriated so much plunder that the haul of captives populated whole islands and cities, and fields deserted through time, and the land, which had before been entirely uncultivated, was made productive. Substantial armies were assembled from them which contended with great spirit and courage against the other nations; and the need for servants was also fulfilled at every hearth, since slaves were procured very cheaply.[71]

20 He engaged with the foremost of the Persians, Tamchosroes and Adarmaanes, who had invaded with a considerable army; and what occurred, and how and in what manner, let others write, or perhaps it will be recounted by me in another work, since the present undertaking is explicitly devoted to other matters. **[216]** Be that as it may, Tamchosroes fell in the encounter, not through the courage of the Roman army but solely through its general's devoutness and trust in God. Adarmaanes too fled headlong, after suffering defeat in the battle and losing many of his own men – and that too even though Alamundarus, the leader of the Scenite barbarians, was thoroughly treacherous,[72] and refused to cross the Euphrates and fight alongside Maurice against the Scenite Arabs among the opposition:[73] for on account of the speed of

circumstances because of the flaws in their characters (see also n. 61 above for Patriarch Gregory). Discussion in Whitby, 'Patriarchs'.

Evagrius' description has been taken by Baldwin ('Menander' 103) to indicate that Maurice was a reformed sinner, who had to keep his passions and appetites under control, but this is to apply too subtle an interpretation to this panegyric.

71 Maurice arrived on the eastern frontier in spring 578 and, although initially disconcerted when the Persians anticipated the end of the three-year truce and invaded both Armenia and Mesopotamia, he conducted a successful campaign in Arzanene, where he captured the fortress of Aphum and thousands of prisoners, and then continued his raiding in the vicinity of Nisibis and to the east of the Tigris; the captives were apparently settled on Cyprus (Theophylact iii.15.11–16.2; John of Ephesus, *EH* vi.15). Discussion in Whitby, *Maurice* 268–70.

72 Treachery was a standard aspect of the perception of Arabs (and other nomads): cf. Menander frr. 9.1:67–9; 9.3:103; Theophylact iii.17.7.

73 This is another of Evagrius' very confused accounts of military matters, which he admits are not the primary concern of his ecclesiastical history; the excuse for this review of Maurice's achievements was, perhaps, that this success against great odds firmly demonstrated the future emperor's piety. For the importance of the general's piety in securing victory, cf. Maurice, *Strategicon* viii.2.1.

their horses these people are invincible for others, nor are they captured if they should be enclosed somewhere, and they outrun their opponents when retreating. Theoderic too, who was leader of the Scythian nations, fled with those around him, even though he had not come within range.[74]

21 There also occurred portents which presaged the imperial power for him.[75] For, late at night, as he was offering incense within the shrine of the sacred Church of the holy and immaculate Virgin and Mother of God Mary, which is called by the people of Theopolis the Church of Justinian,[76] the curtain around the holy table was engulfed in flames, so

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Evagrius has in fact conflated the events of 581 and 582. In 581 Maurice led an expedition down the Euphrates towards Ctesiphon, but was thwarted when he discovered that the bridge over the Tigris had been cut; he was then forced to retreat rapidly by the news that Adarmahan had invaded Mesopotamia; Adarmahan secured considerable booty, but withdrew hastily without the Romans being able to engage him. Maurice and the Ghassanid leader al-Mundhir quarrelled over the failure of the campaign, with Maurice accusing the Arab of treachery; al-Mundhir defeated his Lakhmid Arab opponents, but took no further part in joint actions with Maurice; during the winter of 581/2 he was tricked into a meeting with a friend, the *curator* Magnus, and was arrested and taken to Constantinople. In 582 the Persians under Tamkhusro invaded, but were confronted by the Romans at Monocarton, the military camp near Constantina; Tamkhusro was killed in the battle, either by an anonymous common soldier (Menander fr. 26.5) or through the self-sacrifice of a Christian hero named Constantine (John of Ephesus, *EH* vi.26), and the Persians retreated to the vicinity of Dara. Adarmahan may have participated in this battle, but there is no confirmation for this in the other sources, and Evagrius may be conflating the events of 581; similarly, it is possible that Theoderic (see below), who probably commanded the federate troops recruited by Tiberius in 574 (cf. *PLRE* III. 1237, *s.v.* Theodericus 2), had failed to collaborate with Maurice in the campaign of 581, when there was a Roman reverse in Armenia as well as the failed invasion of lower Mesopotamia. Discussion in Whitby, *Maurice* 272–4, and for a different interpretation of al-Mundhir's behaviour, Shahid, *Sixth Century* 415, 418 (there is some imprecision in Shahid's presentation of the evidence).

Evagrius has also omitted the doctrinal initiative in which al-Mundhir was currently involved: he had travelled to Constantinople in 580, where he was honourably received by Tiberius and tried to reconcile the different Monophysite factions in the patriarchate of Antioch; he returned to the East with an edict from Tiberius ordering an end to all persecution, which Patriarch Gregory promulgated in the East: John of Ephesus, *EH* iv.42; discussion in Shahid, *Sixth Century* 900–10.

74 The occasion of this flight cannot be determined: it could be Monocarton, but equally it could have been during the campaign against Adarmahan in 581.

75 Cf. ii.1 for predictions of Marcian's accession.

76 This is most probably the church opposite the basilica of Rufinus, which Justinian reconstructed after the earthquake of 527 (Malalas 423:1–4); Allen, *Evagrius* 236, links it

that Maurice experienced surprise and astonishment and was terrified at the sight. Gregory, the archbishop of the city, who was standing beside him, stated that the event was a divine sign and indicated very great and exceptional things for him. Christ our God also appeared in a waking vision to him while in the East, seeking vengeance, which obviously signified imperial power: for from whom other than an emperor, and one who was so pious towards Him, would He have sought such things? Those who brought him into the world also recounted to me remarkable things, worthy of narration, when I was enquiring about these matters. For his father said that at the time of his conception he saw in a dream an enormous vine sprouting from his own bed, and that numerous perfect bunches of grapes hung on it, while his mother stated that at the moment of delivery the earth sent forth a strange, unparalleled sweet-scented vapour; **[217]** also, although the thing called Empusa had often removed the infant in order to eat it, she had never been able to harm it.[77] And Symeon who made his station on a column near Theopolis, a most efficacious person[78] and distinguished for all the divine virtues, said and did many things which indicated imperial power for him.[79] Concerning him the sequence of the history will relate what is appropriate.[80]

22 Maurice ascended to the imperial power when Tiberius was drawing his last breaths, and had transferred to him his daughter Augusta and the empire in place of a dowry: whereas he lived for a very short time in

with the church to which Justinian presented a decorated toga in 529, the Church of Cassianus in Malalas 450:16–18 (though the dedication of this church is unknown). The name attests the impact on the city of Justinian's reconstructions.

77 The father's vision can be traced back to that of Astyages at the birth of his grandson, the future Cyrus the Great (Herodotus i.108). For a pleasant smell as a sign of sanctity, cf. ii.3 on the aroma that emanated from the sarcophagus of S. Euphemia; for a ruler who smelled sweet, cf. Plutarch, *Alexander* 4.2. Empusa was a foul-smelling hobgoblin who was supposed to prey on travellers and children.

78 Festugière (439 with n. 64) interprets πρακτικώτατος as relating to Symeon's ascetic practice, but, since Evagrius is here dealing with a secular prediction, an allusion to his general effectiveness in action is more apposite; also πρακτικώτατος does not imply ascetic conduct.

79 In the *Life* of Symeon, there are predictions concerning Justin II, as well as the patriarchs John *scholasticus* and Anastasius of Antioch (chs. 202–11), but none for Maurice. Theodore of Sykeon (*Life* ch. 54) and Patriarch Eutychius (*Life* 1900–45, Laga, = *PG* 86, chs. 67–9) also predicted Maurice's accession.

80 Evagrius surveys Symeon's career in vi.23.

the imperial rule, he left behind an immortal memory for the good deeds he accomplished: for this cannot be comprehended in speech. Tiberius also left behind an excellent bequest for the state in the proclamation of Maurice. He also apportioned his own appellations, naming Maurice Tiberius and Augusta Constantina. What indeed was done by them the sequence of the history will reveal, if divine assistance collaborates.[81]

23 In order also that there may be a record of the times with complete accuracy, let it be known that Justin the younger reigned by himself for twelve years and ten-and-a-half months, and with Tiberius for three years and nine months, in all for sixteen years and eleven-and-a-half months. Tiberius ruled by himself for four years. Thus, to add up from Romulus until the proclamation of Maurice Tiberius, . . . as the preceding and current years have revealed.[82]

24 With the help of God the history of the Church has been set out for us in comprehensible form through what has been narrated by Eusebius son of Pamphilus down to Constantine, and from **[218]** him down to Theodosius the younger by Theodoret, Sozomen and Socrates, and by those things which our current labour has related.[83] Archaic and profane history has been preserved in sequence by diligent people: for on the one hand Moses initiated history and narrative, as has been clearly demonstrated by those who have collected material about this, and wrote

81 Maurice was elevated to the rank of Caesar and betrothed to Tiberius' daughter on 5 August 582, and on 13 August, the day before Tiberius died, he was proclaimed successor. In his desire to emphasize the antithetical apportionment of names, Evagrius has perhaps inverted the names of Tiberius' daughter, since she was probably called Constantina rather than the somewhat presumptuous Augusta: see Whitby, 'Constantine'.

Marcian was another emperor who reigned for a short time but left behind an imperial memorial (ii.8, p. 55:12–13), in his case the Council of Chalcedon: thus Tiberius might be equated with the creator of orthodoxy (with whom he shared other characteristics such as generosity), and Maurice with the event that established that orthodoxy.

82 For the custom of writers to use a chronological computation to mark the start of the reign of the emperor under whom they were composing, see iii. n. 92 (in iii.29 Evagrius incorporated a calculation from Eustathius). Here Evagrius has gone astray by counting twice the joint rule of Justin and Tiberius: Justin II ruled for 9 years and 23 days by himself, and then a further 3 years and 9 months with Tiberius, a total of 12 years, 10 months and 12 days. For the years since Romulus, a number has dropped out of the manuscripts, but from the calculation in iii.29 it is likely to have been 1143 (1052 years to the accession of Anastasius in 491, so that 91 years had to be added).

83 For the succession of ecclesiastical historiography, cf. i, preface.

truthfully from the beginning of the world as a result of what he learnt on Mount Sinai when he encountered God, and he was followed by those who, preparing the way for our religion, recorded events in the sacred Scripture; on the other hand Josephus composed a long history which is useful in all respects.[84]

All that occurred, whether in legend or fact, between Greeks and the ancient barbarians in their struggles between themselves or against the other, and anything else which has been achieved from the time when they record that mankind existed, has been recorded by Charax and Ephorus and Theopompus and innumerable others. But the actions of the Romans, which encompass in themselves the entire history of the world, or anything else which happened either in their divisions among themselves or in their dealings with others, have been worked on by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who extended his history from the so-called Aborigines down to Pyrrhus of Epirus, and from the latter by Polybius of Megalopolis, who brought it as far as the capture of Carthage. These matters Appian has clearly separated, by gathering together each sequence of events, even though they occurred at different times.[85] And as for what was done thereafter, this has been covered by Diodorus Siculus as far as Julius Caesar, and by Dio Cassius who wrote as far as Antoninus of Emesa. Herodian, who also expounds the same matters, records events as far as the death of Maximinus. Nicostratus the sophist, the historian from Trapezus, has expounded matters from Philippus the successor of **[219]** Gordian as far as Odaenathus of Palmyra and the shameful departure of Valerian against the Persians. And Dexippus has done much work on these matters, starting from mythical times and stopping at the reign of Claudian the successor of Gallienus; he has encompassed what was done by the Carpi and other barbarian tribes in their attacks on Greece, Thrace and Ionia. Eusebius,

84 At first sight the contrast might appear to be between sacred and profane history, but the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus can scarcely be taken as representative of the latter. Evagrius appears to have begun with the sacred/profane distinction, but then diverged into a contrast between the historical material in the Bible and the other information on religious history in Josephus. The tradition of secular historiography is then picked up in the next paragraph.

85 In contrast to the universal historians, Ephorus, Theopompus (both fourth century BC) and Charax (second century AD), or Polybius, whose account of Roman imperial expansion covered the world from the western Mediterranean to Afghanistan, Appian had divided Roman affairs up into specific campaign theatres, e.g. Iberian or Mithridatic.

too, going from Octavian, Trajan and Marcus reached as far as the death of Carus. Certain things concerning these times are recorded by Arrian and Asinius Quadratus.[86]

Concerning subsequent times, Zosimus has narrated down to the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, and events after them have been collected by Priscus the *rhetor* and others. All these things have been excellently abridged by Eustathius of Epiphania in two volumes, one down to the capture of Troy and the other down to the twelfth year of the emperor Anastasius.[87] Events from him as far as the times of Justinian have been covered by Procopius the *rhetor*.[88] The sequel to these has been recorded in succession by Agathias the *rhetor* and John, my fellow townsman and relative, down to the flight of Chosroes the younger to the Romans and his restoration to his kingdom: Maurice by no means remained unmoved in this matter, but received him royally, and most speedily brought him back to his kingdom, with great expenditure and armaments. These have not yet actually been published.[89]

86 Up to here this catalogue of secular historians almost certainly reproduces a list in Eustathius of Epiphania who is mentioned in the following paragraph (see next note), and it is unlikely that Evagrius consulted any of these writers directly. For further information on individual authors, see *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. 3, 1996). Nicostratus of Trabzon is otherwise unknown. Eusebius poses a problem, since the coverage of this work matches that of the earliest version of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea, but Evagrius has already mentioned him in the preceding paragraph; the easiest solution is that this is indeed the church historian (*contra* Allen, *Evagrius* 239), and that Evagrius simply lifted the name, without realizing, from Eustathius' list (where Eusebius might not have been identified by his distinctive epithets).

87 In contrast to the authors in the preceding paragraph, it is likely that Evagrius had consulted these writers, in addition to knowing them through the epitome by Eustathius. Zosimus, at any rate, is the object of a long harangue at iii.40–1, and Priscus has been cited at various points in the first two books (e.g. i.17, ii.1); the terminus of Eustathius' work is marked at iii.37. Zachariah, whose work Evagrius used extensively, is not mentioned.

88 The source for most of iv.12–25, of which some is verbatim quotation.

89 The *History* of Agathias covered from 553 to 558/9; the work of John of Epiphania began with an allusion to Agathias as his predecessor, even though his own narrative only began in 572, with the outbreak of the Persian war under Justin II, and extended to the restoration of Khusro II in 591. Evagrius had already commented (iv.24) that Agathias' work had not yet reached him, and it is also likely that he had no more than a general impression about John's presentation of events (on the question of the relative priority of John and Evagrius, and the direction of influence from one to the other, see Whitby, *Maurice* 245, 265–6).

The concluding sequence of this book (23–4) is clearly modelled on, and adapted from, Eustathius of Epiphania's presentation of the start of Anastasius' reign (cf. nn. 82, 86

Concerning these events we too will relate in the sequel what is appropriate, if the favour from on high permits.

End of the 5th Book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius.

above). It served to mark the progression from the historical account of previous emperors to the affairs of the current ruler, and also, by interrupting the narrative flow, it underlined the importance of what was to come.

[220] THESE ARE THE CONTENTS OF THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS *SCHOLASTICUS*

[222] BOOK VI OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EVAGRIUS OF EPIPHANIA, *SCHOLASTICUS* AND EX-PREFECT

1 After Maurice had inherited the rule, he first made preparations for his marriage and in accordance with imperial decrees espoused Augusta, who was also Constantina; the marriage procession was held magnificently, with public feasts and celebrations in all parts of the city. Religion and kingship were present, providing the most splendid escort and providing the most esteemed gifts.[1] For the former presented a father and mother to sanctify the marriage with respected grey hair and venerable wrinkles – a thing never previously reported with regard to emperors – as well as beautiful siblings in the prime of life to dignify the marital procession.[2] The other presented a robe shot with gold, decorated with purple and Indian stones, and crowns most precious with their abundance of gold and the varied splendour of the jewels, and all those numbered among the offices at court and the armies, who lit the marital candles, magnificently dressed and with the insignia of their rank, celebrating in song the festival of the bringing of the bride. As a result there has never been anything among men more dignified or more joyful than that

1 This whole chapter is in the high style which Evagrius uses for descriptions of imperial qualities (cf. iii.1 on Zeno). In this sentence Evagrius creates a pun on δορυφοροῦσαι 'providing an escort for' and δωρυφοροῦσαι 'providing gifts'; cf. ii.1 at nn. 5 and 6 for analogous wordplay in the description of Marcian.

2 Maurice's father, Paul (*PLRE* III. 980–1, *s.v.* Paulus 23), was brought to Constantinople and made leader of the senate; he received part of the property of Marcellus, brother of Justin II, including a house which was convenient for both the palace and S. Sophia. The 'thing never previously reported' is presumably the mention of such signs of age, which would be omitted from descriptions of emperors and their relatives. Maurice had one brother, Peter, and two sisters, Gordia, the wife of Philippicus, and Theoctiste.

procession.[3] And Damophilus says, when writing about the affairs of Rome, that Plutarch **[223]** of Chaeronea clearly states that for her sake alone did virtue and chance make a truce with each other.[4] But I would say that in Maurice alone religion and good fortune have thus come together, since religion constrained good fortune and did not permit her to be diverted at all. Thereafter he has been determined to wear the purple and the crown not only on his body but also on his soul: for alone of recent emperors has he been emperor over himself, and becoming in very truth a sole ruler he has expelled from his own soul the mob rule of the passions, while by establishing an aristocracy in his own calculations he has presented himself as a living representation of virtue, educating his subjects to imitation.[5] This is not spoken by me as flattery: for what indeed will be spoken, since that man is unaware of what is being written?[6]

3 The marriage celebrations are also described by Theophylact i.10: the ceremony was conducted by Patriarch John Nesteutes in the Augusteum in the palace of Daphne, the oldest part of the Great Palace. The factions acclaimed the bridal couple with the following chant (Cantarella, *Poeti* 82):

O Saviour God, protect our rulers.
Holy, thrice Holy, give them healthy life.
May the all-holy Spirit watch over the Augusti.
Lord, [watch over] their life on account of our life.
Newly married king, God will protect you,
Honoured and virtuous, the Trinity will adorn you,
And God in heaven will provide you with joy,
Blessing your marriage, as the only One perfect in goodness,
Who in Cana previously attended the marriage
And at it blessed the water in His love for mankind
And produced wine for the enjoyment of mankind;
So He will bless you, together with your spouse,
And God will grant you children born in the purple.

4 Damophilus of Bithynia composed a work *On the Lives of the Ancients* in the late second century AD; the quotation from Plutarch (late first century AD) is from *On the Fortune of the Romans* 2 (Loeb IV. 324).

5 A continuation of the extravagant praise for Maurice in v.19, and a clear contrast with the descriptions of Zeno and Justin II, who were incapable of controlling themselves and hence imperial affairs (cf. iii.1, pp. 99:14–100:5; iii.3, p. 100:17–19; v.1, pp. 195:20–196:1; v.11, p. 207:20–3; Whitby, 'Patriarchs'). The statement that Maurice 'alone of recent emperors was emperor over himself' implies a failing in Tiberius, somewhat at odds with the eulogy in v.13; the explanation is perhaps that Tiberius' generosity was so lavish that he effectively lost control of himself.

6 Such protestations of honesty are commonplace in panegyrics (e.g. Socrates vii.22.1; John of Ephesus, *EH* iii.22). In Evagrius' case it is perhaps credible that Maurice would not see, or hear, his *Ecclesiastical History*, so that he could correctly protest that he was

That these things are so will be proved both by what has been granted to him by God, and by the events of all types which must unanimously be attributed by us to God.

2 In addition to everything else, he was eager that the blood of those on trial for imperial matters should never be shed in any circumstances.[7] Accordingly, for example, he did not slay Alamundarus, the leader of the Scenite Arabs, who had completely betrayed both the state and himself, as I have earlier narrated; as penalty he only imposed relegation, with his wife and some of his children, to an island and banished him to that of Sicily. As for this man's son Namaan, who filled the state with countless troubles, ravaging the two Phoenicias and Palestine and carrying off captives by means of his barbarian companions after Alamundarus had been captured, although everyone condemned him to death, he kept him under watch in open detention, without any additional punishment.[8] And in countless other cases he has done this, as each will be reported at the appropriate point.[9]

3 Now, as general of the eastern regiments Maurice had first sent John, a Thracian by race, who, in experiencing some failures but also making good some reverses, did nothing whatsoever worthy of record;[10] after

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not now presenting a panegyric. But Evagrius also composed a work to praise the birth of Maurice's first son, Theodosius, which earned him the rank of honorary prefect (vi.24); that work could well have included a passage on the wedding which had produced the auspicious offspring, and an economical writer might have chosen to recycle the sentiments.

7 Cf. iii.34, p.134:15–18, for similar praise of Anastasius, and contrast Justin II's delight in murder (v.2).

8 For al-Mundhir's quarrel with Maurice, see v.20 with n. 73 above. Following al-Mundhir's arrest by the *curator* Magnus, his four sons, led by Numan, had ravaged extensively in the provinces of Arabia and Syria; Tiberius sent out Magnus, again, to arrest Numan, but this time his deception failed (John of Ephesus, *EH* iii.42–3; *Pratum Spirituale* 155 also mentions Numan's ravaging); subsequently Numan came to Constantinople to see Maurice, but his refusal to be reconciled with the Chalcedonians led to a breach, and Numan was arrested and sent to join his father in exile (John iii.54, 56, a passage restored from Michael the Syrian and *Chron.* 1234). Discussion in Shahid, *Sixth Century* 532–40.

9 Cf. Theophylact i.11.16–20 for Maurice's wish to be clement in the case of a convicted pagan, when his leniency was overruled by the patriarch.

10 John Mystacon (*PLRE* III. 679–81, *s.v.* Ioannes 101) had been commander in Armenia, probably *magister militum*, during Tiberius' reign, and after Maurice's accession he was promoted to *magister militum per Orientem*. In autumn 582 the chance for victory in

him he sent Philippicus, **[224]** who was related to him by marriage as he had married one of his two sisters. This man, after crossing the frontiers and ravaging everything in his path, became master of great spoils, and captured many people of noble birth and ancestry from Nisibis and other places on this side of the river Tigris.[11] He engaged with the Persians and, after a fierce fight in which many distinguished Persians had fallen, he took many captives; one unit which had escaped to a convenient hillock he let go unharmed, although he could have captured it, since they promised to persuade their king to send an embassy about peace as soon as possible.[12] And as general he accomplished other things, by liberating the army from excesses and matters conducive to luxury, and by reining it in towards good order and obedience.[13] These matters must be grasped from those who have composed or indeed are composing histories, in accordance with the reports or opinions they may have or have had: their account misses what is true, slipping and limping through ignorance, or corrupted by favouritism, or blinded by hostility.[14]

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an engagement in Arzanene was lost when Cours, formerly his colleague but now his subordinate, declined to participate in the battle; throughout 583 John was again active in Arzanene, where the Romans managed to capture the fort of Akbas, in spite of being forced to abandon the siege at one point. For discussion, see Whitby, *Maurice* 277–8.

11 Philippicus, husband of Gordia, had been appointed *comes excubitorum* in succession to Maurice (*PLRE* III. 1022–6, *s.v.* Philippicus 3). In 584 he arrived in the East to succeed John as *magister militum per Orientem*; most of the year was occupied by fruitless negotiations, during which Philippicus energetically recruited, but in the autumn he conducted a raid, or raids, into Beth Arabaye, the vicinity of Nisibis. See Whitby, *Maurice* 278–9.

12 Evagrius has skipped the campaign of 585, when ill health prevented Philippicus from achieving much, and advanced to the battle of Solachon in 586 (narrated at greater length by Theophylact ii.1.5–6.12): the Persians under the Kardarigan attacked the Roman army drawn up by the river Arzamon, but were forced to flight; the Persian centre took refuge on a hillock, where they were blockaded for a time (Theophylact does not mention an agreement about an embassy). See Whitby, *Maurice* 279–82.

13 After Solachon, Philippicus conducted an offensive in Arzanene in 586 with mixed success, while in 587 he was too ill to campaign and entrusted operations to his subordinates: see Whitby, *Maurice* 282–4. Theophylact praised Philippicus' military knowledge (i.14.2–4); among recent generals both Justinian (Theophylact iii.12.7) and Maurice (Menander, fr. 23.3) also received praise for improving military discipline.

14 Evagrius recognizes that Philippicus' achievements as commander were mixed, and were unlikely to receive such sympathetic treatment from writers who did not share his personal closeness to the imperial family. The most obvious target for Evagrius' attack on inaccurate reporting is the work of his relative, John of Epiphania, which was being

4 After him Priscus assumed the military command: he was not an accessible man, nor yet easily approached, with the exception of essential matters,[15] who considered that everything would be achieved if for the most part he remained by himself, since thereby indeed, through fear, the soldiers would be more submissive to orders. And so, after arriving at the camp with a supercilious and arrogant expression and decked out in a rather elegant way, he made an announcement about the duration of the soldiers' active service, and about their precise equipment and what they received from the treasury.[16] Having already indeed heard about these matters, they let their anger burst out into the open; coming together at the place where his tent was pitched, like barbarians they

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composed at this time: John need not have shared Evagrius' partiality towards Philippicus, and Evagrius was probably in a position to anticipate the tenor of John's narrative, even if the completed work was not available for him to read. For analogous criticism of the veracity of other writers, cf. i.21 with n. 178 (Eudocia's withdrawal to Jerusalem).

15 Evagrius approved of those who restricted access to themselves (cf. iv.40, Anastasius of Antioch; v.19, Maurice). At first sight, Priscus appears to be similar to Anastasius, who is described as 'neither vulnerable to what was unsuitable by being approachable and accessible, nor by being austere and merciless was he inaccessible for what was necessary' (μηδὲ . . . δυσπρόσιτον ἐς τὰ δέοντα: pp. 190:33–191:1). But Evagrius strongly disapproved of Priscus, whose arrogance is shown to be unsuitable when faced by a crisis. Evagrius presumably thought that Priscus did not make sufficient exceptions to his principle of remoteness, and I wonder whether the sentence should have an extra negative to convey this point more clearly, 'not even with the exception of essential matters'.

16 The sequence of events in the early part of 588 is also recorded, with some significant differences, by Theophylact iii.1.1–3.6. At the end of the 587 campaign Philippicus was replaced as *magister militum per Orientem* by Priscus (*PLRE* III. 1052–7, *s.v.* Priscus 6); Philippicus had already received an order from Maurice to impose a reduction of one quarter in military pay, which was probably meant to be offset by a return to public provision of clothing and equipment and by some improvements to conditions of service; he arranged for the promulgation of this while the troops were in winter quarters. Priscus arrived at the main Roman camp at Monocarton in time to celebrate Easter on 18 April; he immediately upset the soldiers by not dismounting when they greeted him. Discussion in Whitby, *Maurice* 286–8.

The analysis of Krivouchine, 'Révolte' 154–61, focuses on the literary contrasts which Evagrius draws between the different participants in the mutiny, the rebellious army on the one hand and on the other the sequence of Priscus the arrogant instigator, Germanus the reluctant commander, and Gregory the effective conciliator. Evagrius, however, does recognize the significance of the orders about military remuneration, of which the soldiers already knew ('Having already indeed heard . . .'; and cf. n. 16 above) and which were clearly the cause of their rage; Priscus' behaviour merely brought this anger into the open. Thus Evagrius' presentation does include other factors besides the contrasting personalities.

plundered all of his magnificent equipment and the most valuable treasures, and came close to making away with him as well, but for the fact that he leapt onto one of the spare horses and made his escape to Edessa.[17] They even sent men there and besieged it, demanding Priscus.[18] **[225]**

5 Since the people of the city did not give in, they left Priscus there and after forcibly holding captive Germanus, who was leader of the military regiments in Phoenice Libanensis, they elected him as their leader and, as far as pertained to them, emperor.[19] As he was resisting and they were insisting more vehemently, there was dispute between them for the one not to be forced and the others to bring this to achievement; they made clear that they would kill him if he did not voluntarily accept, while he much preferred to accept even this, since he was neither frightened nor disconcerted. They had resort to the application of various tortures and outrages, which they thought he would never endure since he would not be more impervious than his nature and age. After initially putting him to the test with respect and consideration, they eventually forced him against his will to agree and swear that he would in truth keep his word to them. And so in this way they compelled him to be their ruler though he was ruled, to control them though controlled, and to be their master though their

17 'Spare horse', τινι τῶν παρόχων ἵππων; also in ch. 15, p. 233:7. Festugière, 449 n. 8, discusses the rare term πάροχοι, which refers to some sort of supernumerary or reserve horses which must, on this occasion, have been tied up close to the general's tent. Theophylact (iii.1.13) says that the fleeing Priscus encountered the grooms who were pasturing the soldiers' horses, and so escaped.

18 According to Theophylact, the soldiers began to riot after the Easter festival; even the display of an *acheiropoietos* icon of Christ (an image not made by human hand, either that from Edessa, or the Camuliana image which had recently been taken to Constantinople) failed to restore order, and Priscus took refuge in the nearby city of Constantina, narrowly escaping death in the process. Priscus used the bishop of Constantina to negotiate a reconciliation, but when this failed he appears to have withdrawn to Edessa, where he again used the local bishop as his emissary; the mutineers responded by sending a delegation to instruct Priscus to leave Edessa; after further negotiations failed, 5,000 soldiers moved against Edessa to force Priscus from the city.

19 According to Theophylact (iii.2.4–8), the mutineers had already compelled Germanus (*PLRE* III. 529–30, *s.v.* Germanus 6) to become their leader (no mention of emperor) before the negotiations at Edessa; Germanus secured an oath from the soldiers that they would not pillage Roman subjects, but the mutineers then tore down the imperial icons and insulted Maurice for being a shopkeeper.

captive.[20] As for all the other commanders of regiments, companies and units, and those who led each century and decade, they chased these off and chose for themselves whom they wanted. They cursed the imperial power in public and, though in most respects behaving towards the tax-payers more moderately than barbarians, they were quite unlike allies or servants of the state, for they did not exact supplies according to fixed measures and weights, nor were they content just with what was allocated to them, but for each man his decision was a decree and his wish an accepted measure.

6 The emperor dispatched Philippicus to settle these matters, but not only did they not receive him, but any of those whom they supposed to be attached to him was in extreme peril.[21]

7 While affairs were in this state, Gregory, the bishop of Theopolis, returned from the queen of cities, after achieving victory in the contest which I am about to narrate. When Asterius **[226]** was directing the government of the East, a certain dispute arose between himself and Gregory. The entire upper tier of the city was separated off into Asterius' party, and in addition he also enlisted the popular element and those who practised trades in the city.[22] For each of these asserted that they had received some injury. Finally, indeed, the populace was given licence to make hostile chants against him. Accordingly, since both the factions had united in a single opinion,[23] they were shouting out insults

20 As Krivouchine observes ('Révolte' 155–7), Evagrius delights in the rhetorical contrast between the nominal position of the new emperor, Germanus, and his complete powerlessness.

21 As soon as Priscus reported the mutiny to Maurice, the emperor reinstated his brother-in-law as commander, but the mutineers then swore not to receive him back (Theophylact iii.2.11, 3.7). Evagrius puts full weight on the fact that the revolt was against Maurice's imperial authority (his order on pay had been the prime cause), and the rebuff to the emperor's brother-in-law underlines this aspect; it made reconciliation harder to achieve.

22 Nothing more is known about the dispute between the *comes Orientis* Asterius (*PLRE* III. 139, *s.v.* Asterius 3) and the patriarch, which must have come to a head in spring 588. This incident, in which the respectable element in the city sided with the populace against the patriarch, further undermines Evagrius' praise for Gregory's popularity (v.6, with n. 22 above). Asterius was killed in the earthquake of 588 (vi.8).

23 The BEL translation (452) gives 'both the other classes accorded with the populace', but τώ δήμω rendered 'populace' is a dual, not dative; Festugière (450) translates 'both the notables and the populace agreed . . .', but there is no reference to the notables. It is preferable to interpret the dual as an allusion to the two main circus factions (for whom the dual is

against the priest in the main streets and the theatre, while even those on stage did not refrain from these. Asterius was removed from his office, and John was appointed to it with orders from the emperor to make an investigation of these disturbances – a man who was incapable of administering the very smallest of matters, let alone such a great undertaking.[24]

Accordingly, after filling the city with uproars and commotions and issuing proclamations if anyone wanted to accuse the priest, he received an indictment against him from a man in charge of a bank, stating that Gregory had had intercourse with his sister who was allotted in marriage to another man. From other similar people he received indictments about how the prosperity of the city had often been abused by him.[25] Concerning the prosperity he offered a defence, but on the other matters he appealed to the emperor and a synod. And so on these matters he went to the imperial city to present his defence, with myself as adviser in attendance on him. And when the patriarchs of each place were present for the investigation, some in person and others by proxy, as well as the sacred senate and many of the most holy metropolitans, the proposition was subjected to scrutiny and Gregory was victorious after considerable conflicts.[26] As a result the accuser, after being whipped and paraded

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sometimes used in other literary texts, but not in Evagrius), especially since chanting and public entertainments are involved. On his return from Constantinople, Gregory contributed to the provision of a Hippodrome for Antioch, an action which outraged John of Ephesus (*EH* v.17) but which would have been a good way to re-establish friendly relations with the influential factions.

24 Nothing else is known about this man (*PLRE* III. 678, *s.v.* Ioannes 97).

25 Festugière points out (451 n. 13) that the sexual accusation must be adultery (intercourse with the banker's sister), not incest (with Gregory's own sister), although the latter is a precise translation of the Greek. As at Alexandria, the Church was probably by now the major property-owner at Antioch, so that the management of its estates would inevitably have a wider impact on the city (cf. *Life* of John the Almsgiver ch. 10 for constructive use of church funds; *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon chs. 76, 78 for bitter disputes about the management of church property).

Allen observes that John of Ephesus (*EH* iii.27–34; v.17) conflated the pagan accusation of Tiberius' reign (cf. Evagrius v.18) with the troubles of Maurice's reign (*Evagrius* 250); but it is unsafe to infer from this link that there was a single doctrinal cause which united the two incidents.

26 The sexual accusation against Gregory would, if proven, result in dismissal, which could only be ordered by a Synod in which the other Eastern patriarchs or their official representatives, *apocrisarii*, participated (cf. iii. n. 59 above for Acacius' rejection of his uncanonical deposition by the Pope).

around the city, was condemned in addition to banishment. And so after this he returned to his own see, while the armies were in revolt and Philippicus was tarrying near the cities of Beroe and Chalcis.[27]

[227] 8 When four months had passed since his arrival, in the 637th year of the Era of Theopolis, in the 61st year after the previous earthquakes, when I was celebrating marriage with a young maiden on the last day of the month Hyperberetaeus, when the city was conducting a festival and holding a public celebration of the procession and bridal ceremonies, at about the third hour of the evening, a convulsion and quake struck and levelled the entire city.[28] Most buildings fell down when their very foundations were churned up: as a result everything around the most holy church was brought to the ground, with only the dome being preserved. This had been fashioned by Ephrem out of timbers from Daphne, after it suffered in the earthquakes under Justin: as a result of the subsequent quakes this had tilted towards its northern part so that timbers were inserted to exert counter-pressure, but these indeed fell down in this violent quake when the dome returned to its position and, as if under some law, reoccupied its

27 Theophylact (iii.4.5) says that Philippicus was waiting at Hierapolis, a bit to the north of Beroe and Chalcis.

28 October 588. Evagrius had treated the earthquakes of May 526 and November 528 as if they were part of a single series of tremors (iv.5–6); he antedated the quake of 526 by one year (cf. iv. n. 12 above), placing it in the tenth month of Justin's seventh regnal year (May 525), and he dated the 528 quake by reference to it, 30 months later (cf. iv. n. 16 above). Evagrius' calculation of the 61st year, though one year out in terms of accepted chronology, is correctly deduced from the information in Book iv: although he does not provide an Antiochene year for the earthquakes of the 520s, by combining the information in iv.5–6 with the dating, including an Antiochene year, for Justinian's accession in iv.9 he would have placed the 528 quake in November of the first year of Justinian's reign, i.e. year 576 of the Antiochene Era (one year early). He knew the Antiochene date of the quake which affected his marriage, and subtracted what he believed to be that for the end of the 520s quakes, hence the 61st year.

BEL (453) and Festugière (452) both translate 'after the previous earthquake' (singular), and Festugière and Allen, *Evagrius* 251, both interpret the 'previous quake' to be that of 526, without solving the problems that this causes for Evagrius' calculation of the 61st year. Recognition that Evagrius is dealing with the whole series of quakes (plural) in the 520s, and that he had antedated these by one year, resolves this. For the enumeration and chronology of the quakes that struck Antioch, cf. also ii.12 with nn. 130–2 above.

The public celebrations of Evagrius' new marriage are an indication of his importance in Antiochene society.

proper place.[29] There also fell down much of the area called Ostrakine, and the Psephium, which we mentioned previously, and the whole of the area called Bursia, and the vicinity of the all-holy shrine of the Mother of God, with only the central colonnade being miraculously preserved.[30] All the towers on the level ground suffered, although the rest of the structure remained unharmed except for the battlements, for some stones from these were twisted backwards but did not fall.[31] Other churches also suffered and of the public baths the one that is divided according to the seasons.[32] And an unquantifiable multitude was caught: as certain people conjectured, inferring from the bread supply, this affliction consumed about 60,000.[33]

29 This description of the history of the dome of the Great Church has been variously interpreted. In the BEL translation (453–4) Ephrem secured the dome with timbers from Daphne, and these were thrown into a leaning position by subsequent quakes. According to Festugière (453), Ephrem actually rebuilt the dome in timber, although it later also had to be supported by wooden buttressing. Evagrius does suggest that two separate sets of timbers are involved, for the construction by Ephrem and then for the buttressing necessitated by later shocks; the latter now collapsed.

There is no other evidence to clarify the history of the church. I would suggest that reconstruction probably began soon after the destruction in 526, with a dome, perhaps envisaged as a temporary repair, built of timber; this suffered in 528, at which point extra support was supplied, perhaps by Ephrem as well. The later earthquakes of 551 and 557, to which Festugière attributed the northward tilt, are not known to have caused serious damage in Antioch.

30 The region of Ostrakine had been affected in the earthquake of 458 (ii.12, with n. 136); for the reconstruction of the Psephium under Theodosius II, cf. i.18 with n. 162 above; the area known as Bursia is not otherwise attested, but Downey (*Antioch* 568 n. 25) suggested it was an area connected with leather-working. On the Church to the Virgin, cf. v. n. 76 above.

31 This indication that Antioch still possessed substantial defences should be set against the exaggerated criticism of their dilapidated state in 573 (v.9 with n. 41 above). There had been plenty of time for repairs to be carried out in the intervening fifteen years, but it is more likely that the basic structures had remained standing throughout (as is indicated in depictions of the walls from the early nineteenth century, which show characteristic brick-banded late Roman work).

32 It was quite common for there to be separate winter and summer bath houses (e.g. at Edessa); the division might be reflected in a decorative scheme representing the seasons, as at the winter baths in Gaza whose painting of the cosmos is described by John of Gaza (ed. P. Friedländer [Leipzig, 1912] pp. 135–64).

33 The mortality in the disaster of 526 is recorded as 250,000, but the total then had been swelled by the influx into Antioch of numerous country-dwellers for the festival of Ascension (iv. n. 12 above). Two generations later Antioch was undoubtedly a less populous and prosperous place, especially bearing in mind the Persian capture in 540 and the successive ravages of the plague since 542, but the casualty total of 60,000 indicates that it was still a very major centre.

Now the bishop was saved contrary to expectation, even though the whole building where he was sitting fell down and no one whatsoever survived except for those who were seated around him. Lifting him up and carrying him, they let him down by a rope after a second earthquake had made a hole, **[228]** and they brought him out of harm's reach. There was also another salvation for the city, since the merciful God tempered His threat with clemency and chastened our sin with the branch of compassion and pity: for no conflagration occurred, even though there were so many fires all over the city in hearths, public and private lanterns, kitchens, ovens, then again in baths and innumerable other places. Very many of the notables were caught, among whom Asterius indeed became a victim of the earthquake. The emperor assuaged the city's suffering with money.[34]

9 The affairs of the army were much the same, with the result that the barbarians invaded in the belief that no one would prevent them from performing barbarian actions. But Germanus confronted them with his troops, and defeated and destroyed them so soundly that not even a messenger of the disaster was left for the Persians.[35]

10 And so the emperor rewarded the army with money, but he recalled Germanus and others and summoned them to judgement. And, although all were condemned to death, he did not permit them to suffer anything unpleasant but rather honoured them with rewards.[36]

34 Imperial reconstructions after the earthquake are recorded by John of Ephesus (*EH* v.22–3), though money is also said to have been channelled to Maurice's home town of Arabissus in Cappadocia. Patriarch Gregory was granted funds to rebuild the Hippodrome at Antioch (John of Ephesus, *EH* v.17). For Asterius, cf. vi.7 with n. 22 above.

35 Theophylact, iii.3.8–8.4, records the military action during the Roman mutiny in 588. The Persians first tried to take advantage of the situation by attacking Constantina, but were beaten back by Germanus and 1,000 men. Germanus then managed to persuade 4,000 of the mutineers to invade Persia, and later in 588 there was a campaign into Arzanene; the Persians thwarted the Roman raiders, but were then heavily defeated near Martyropolis, with their commander Maruzas being killed, 3,000 Persian captives and much booty being sent to Constantinople, and only 1,000 Persian survivors making their way to Nisibis.

36 Evagrius' chronology is probably somewhat awry here. Theophylact (iii.3.11) records the dispatch of the *curator* Aristobulus to the army during the 588 campaign, before the victory at Martyropolis. This success, and the dispatch of booty to the capital, led to an improvement of relations with Maurice, but it is unlikely that Germanus and other leaders left the army until the end of the mutiny at Easter 589; thus, unless they were tried *in absentia*, which is not implied, Evagrius has antedated their summons to judgement (see n. 45 below). For Maurice's clemency, cf. vi.2 with n. 7 above.

While these matters were proceeding thus the Avars twice penetrated as far as the so-called Long Wall, captured by siege and enslaved Singidunum, and Anchialus, and the whole of Greece and other cities and forts, destroying and burning everything, since most armies were engaged in the East.[37]

The emperor sent Andrew, who was the chief of the imperial bodyguard, to persuade the army to accept their former officers and the others.[38]

11 Since they did not even endure that the instruction reach their ears, **[229]** the business was transferred to Gregory, not only because he was capable of accomplishing the greatest of things but also because the army owed great respect to him, since some he had welcomed with money, others with clothes and food and other things when they were passing through his see after being enrolled from the register.[39]

37 It is likely that this rare notice of contemporary Balkan events was the result of Evagrius' visit to Constantinople for Gregory's trial in 588. In 583 the Avars, having failed to obtain an increase in the Roman peace payments, invaded the Balkans; they captured Singidunum, ravaged as far as Anchialus, near which they spent the winter, and threatened to continue to the Long Walls of Constantinople before being persuaded to withdraw. In 584 Slav raiders did reach the Long Walls, but were driven off. In 586/7 another major Avar attack brought them as far as Adrianople and other cities of the Thracian plain. In 588 there was an even more successful Avar onslaught in which Singidunum was forced to pay a ransom, Anchialus was captured and the Roman forces under Priscus outmanoeuvred near the Long Walls. Evagrius' notice is probably a conflation of the events of 588 with a vaguer impression of the earlier campaigns; throughout these years Maurice was prevented from taking effective action by the need to allocate available manpower to the eastern front. For discussion, see Whitby, *Maurice* 140–55.

38 This probably represents the mission to the army in spring 589, when their customary salary was distributed (Theophylact iii.4.6); Andrew's rank cannot be specified, though *PLRE* (III. 77, *s.v.* Andreas 12) suggests that he may have been *comes domesticorum*.

39 Cf. the eulogy of Gregory's qualities at v.6. As often, Evagrius' general praise can be connected with specific incidents: cf. Whitby, 'Patriarchs' 330. These benefactions are also mentioned in Gregory's speech to the soldiers (vi.12 with n. 43 below).

This passage is important for its evidence on Roman recruiting practices in the late sixth century, about which there is very little information. Enrolment from the register refers to the standard Roman method of conscription, for which the tax registers provided the basis; these recruits who passed through Antioch on their journey towards their units were likely to have been enrolled for service in the units of the mobile army (*comitatenses*: the *limitanei* who served in the frontier units were hereditary, so that recruits are unlikely to have had to travel long distances to reach their units). Discussion in Whitby, 'Recruitment', section 4 esp. pp. 82–3.

Accordingly, he sent message-bearers in all directions and assembled those in leading positions in the army at Litarba, a place which is about 300 stades distant from Theopolis.[40] He came to them and, although he was bed-ridden, he spoke as follows:[41]

12 Men, Romans in appellation and actions,[42] I had thought there would some time ago have been an approach from you to us, for you to communicate the current events and to receive the advice which my goodwill towards you pledges, the goodwill which is indubitably guaranteed by what you have previously received when I welcomed with necessary relief your maritime discomfort and consequent storm-tossed state.[43] But since this has been overlooked up till now, perhaps because it was not permitted from on high, so that on the one hand the Persians might be completely appraised of Roman courage by being defeated by men without a general, while on the other your unadulterated goodwill might be thoroughly guaranteed, being put to the test by the occasion and being attested by the events – for you have demonstrated that even if you have a grievance towards your generals, there is nothing of

40 As noted by Allen, *Evagrius* 254, Litarba (Terib) was located near an important road intersection in eastern Syria; thus it was an appropriate place to collect representatives from the different elements of the Roman army in the East, which would have dispersed into winter quarters at the end of the 588 campaign.

41 Gregory suffered from gout (cf. vi.24). The speech that follows is clearly Evagrius' own composition; as Allen points out (*Evagrius* 255 n. 51), it lacks the rhythmic patterns which characterize Gregory's homilies. On the other hand, the basic argument is probably fairly genuine: terminate the mutiny while you have the Church's help and the emperor is prepared to pardon the challenge to his authority, or face the consequences of long-term isolation.

42 For the conceit, cf. Theophylact ii.14.1, where cowardly Romans may belie their name by their actions. Allen, *Evagrius* 244, regards the speech as an indication that Evagrius has switched from ecclesiastical to secular history, and describes it as 'quite absurd' when compared with the *verbatim* reports of Khusro's dedications (vi.21). Such criticism is excessive: Evagrius is interested in the qualities of leadership, and the speech and its attendant circumstances demonstrate important aspects of the character of Gregory of Antioch as well as highlighting a significant achievement of his.

43 A reference back to the benefactions mentioned in vi.11. Gregory's language, if interpreted literally, indicates a sea voyage, in which case the recruits would have come from the Balkans or the west and been sent to the east by sea to arrive as quickly as possible; some might well have suffered a mishap *en route*. Alternatively, if Gregory speaks metaphorically (as BEL 456), these recruits were probably in transit from Isauria or Anatolia; they might not yet have had access to the full official system for military supply and support, so that they were thrown back on their own resources or whatever charity they could attract.

greater importance to you than the state[44] – come now, let us consider what is to be done.

The emperor summons you, pledging an amnesty for everything that has happened before, accepting your goodwill towards the state and courage towards the enemy as suppliant symbols, and granting you this as the most secure of all assurances of your pardon, he says: 'If God has granted the upper hand to goodwill and, once errors were pushed aside, courage has shone through, a clear proof of forgiveness, how can I not follow the judgement of God, if indeed an emperor's heart **[230]** is in the hand of God and He inclines it wherever He may wish.'[45] Yield, then, I say, Romans, as quickly as possible, and do not squander the present opportunity, lest it escape and slip away, for it hates to be grasped once it is running away and, as if indignant at being overlooked, it absolutely refuses to be caught a second time.[46] Now, be heirs to your fathers in obedience, just as you have been heirs in courage, so that you may in all respects be shown to be Romans, and that no reproach can be attached to you or show you to be illegitimate children. Those that begat you, marshalled by consuls and emperors, acquired the whole universe through obedience and courage.[47] Manlius Torquatus slew his son after crowning him, as being courageous but disobedient.[48] For good counsel among the leaders and ready obedience among those led naturally bring to pass great benefits. But if the one is divorced from the other it is lamed, overturned and totally destroyed, once the excellent pairing has been separated.

Do not, then, delay but obey me, since priesthood is mediating between empire and army: show that what you did was not usurpation, but a short-lived and justified displeasure against the generals who

44 Gregory has to reverse the importance of the factors underlying the mutiny (cf. vi.4): the root cause had been discontent with imperial policy on pay, and the general's behaviour was only a flashpoint.

45 This offer of an amnesty supports the assumption that the description of Germanus' acquittal in vi.10 is recorded too early. The logic of Maurice's guarantee is that God would not have granted victory to the soldiers unless He had forgiven their misdeeds, and so the emperor should follow suit. The ruler's heart: Proverbs 21.1.

46 Cf. the description of Opportunity in iii.26.

47 Cf. Theophylact ii.14.6–7.

48 An incident from Republican history of the fourth century BC. Manlius Torquatus, who was renowned for his piety, had forbidden his troops to respond to challenges to single combat from their Gallic enemies; his son, chafing at the resulting accusations of cowardice, disobeyed his father and defeated his opponent, only to be punished by his father.

wronged you. For, if you do not run towards this as quickly as possible, I will have done my duty both in respect of my goodwill to the state and my affection for you, but you – consider what are the rewards for usurpers. For what will be the outcome of the present position? To remain all together is an impossibility: for from where will there be the conveyance of seasonal crops, or those things which the sea grants to the land in commercial exchange, unless by pitting Christians against Christians you do and experience the most shameful of all things? And where in the end, if you are dispersed, will you obtain provisions? Of its own accord Justice will be at your heels, and will not tolerate granting pardon thereafter. Therefore, let us clasp hands and consider what is beneficial for ourselves and for the state, at the time when we have the days of the saving Passion **[231]** and the all-holy Resurrection of Christ our God as fellow-helpers.[49]

13 After speaking such words and weeping most copiously, in an instant he converted the opinions of everyone, as if through some divine impulse. They requested leave to withdraw from the gathering and to deliberate by themselves about what was to be done. Shortly thereafter they came and entrusted themselves to the priest. Next, after he had named for them Philippicus that they might request him to be their general, they said that the entire army indeed was bound by strict oaths concerning him. To this he said, without delay or any demur,[50] that he was priest by permission of God, and had the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven, and he reminded them of the sacred word.[51] When they acceded to this as well, he propitiated God with supplications and prayers; and after sharing with them the immaculate body – for it was the all-revered Monday adjacent to the holy Passion[52] – he feasted them all, about

49 Easter 589 fell on 9 April. Gregory deploys powerful, if vague threats of future problems if the soldiers do not abandon their deep-seated aversion to Maurice and accept the alternative analysis of the revolt as an incident caused by the general Priscus. By contrast, the approaching Easter festival offers a suitable occasion for reconciliation.

50 Another specific echo of the eulogy of Gregory at v.6. Evagrius has naturally highlighted the impact of Gregory's speech, but it is still clear from his presentation that the process of reconciliation was not without its difficulties. Krivouchine, 'Révolte' 158, alleges that Evagrius points to the insignificance of the revolt and the inevitability of its suppression, but that is at odds with the skilful rhetoric and flexible response that Gregory has to display.

51 Matthew 16.19, 18.18.

52 Literally 'the second day', which Festugière, 458 n. 41, identifies as the Monday of Holy Week, 3 April 589.

2,000 in number, on couches improvised on the grass, and returned home on the following day. It was resolved that they should assemble wherever they might choose. Accordingly he sent for Philippicus, who was staying at Tarsus in Cilicia while hastening towards the imperial city, and he provided a report about these matters to the imperial power and sent the army's requests concerning Philippicus. Accordingly, once Philippicus had come to the city of the Theopolitans, they met him and, taking as their helpers in the petition those who had been deemed worthy of the sacred rebirth, they prostrated themselves before him.[53] After receiving pledges of amnesty they returned to campaigning with him. Thus indeed did these events proceed.

14 There was a certain Sittas, one of the junior officers at Martyropolis, who had a grievance against one of the military commanders there; he betrayed the city, having watched for the departure of the soldiers who occupied it. By introducing a contingent of Persians as if **[232]** they were Romans he gained control of the city, which was most strategically situated for the Romans; he kept inside the majority of women in the prime of life, but expelled everyone else except for a few slaves.[54] Therefore

53 The identity of their 'helpers' in this petition is unclear. They could be the army's 2,000 delegates who had recently received communion from Gregory at Litarba; as Andrew Louth has pointed out in correspondence, they had received absolution from Gregory and for that reason might have been regarded as restored to their baptismal state (rebirth, παλιγγενεσία, often denotes baptism and its consequences). But, one might have expected these men to be the main presenters of the army's case rather than helpers. Granted Gregory's involvement as peace-broker, some reference to clergy would not be out of place, and their participation in the petition would have helped the process of reconciliation; in this case, Evagrius would be referring, obscurely, to those qualified to administer communion, perhaps to clergy attached to the army.

54 There is a clearer and more accurate narrative in Theophylact, iii.5.11–16 (for comparison of the two, see Higgins, *Persian War* 33–5). Martyropolis was betrayed to the Persians early in the campaign season of 589, when Sittas brought 400 Persians into the city under the pretence that they were deserters. Sittas is literally described as a δεκαδάρχων, 'a commander of ten men'; Festugière (459) translates this as decurion, i.e. a member of the local council, but Evagrius' term implies a military position (Theophylact does not record Sittas' status). Thereafter Philippicus invested the city, but was replaced later in 589 by Comentiolus after failing to prevent the Persians from introducing reinforcements. Evagrius, whose favouritism towards Philippicus has already been clearly stated (vi.3), made the most of Philippicus' efforts in the siege and created a Roman victory out of what was certainly a Persian tactical success (cf. n. 56 below); one consequence of this rewriting is that Evagrius extended Philippicus' involvement at Martyropolis right through to the end of the 590 campaign (Philippicus withdraws twice into winter quarters, whereas he was

Philippicus at once directed his march and invested and besieged the city, even though he did not possess any of the necessities for a siege.[55] All the same, he prosecuted the fight with the resources available to him, and by constructing various tunnels he brought down one of the towers. He was not, though, strong enough to bring the city to submission because the Persians worked throughout the night and strengthened what had collapsed. But when in repeated attacks the Romans were repulsed from the wall – for missiles were accurately launched against them from commanding positions, and they were suffering more than the damage they inflicted on those within – they abandoned the siege. Withdrawing a short distance, they encamped and kept watch with the sole purpose that additional Persians should not be brought in. On Maurice's instructions, Gregory too came to the camp and persuaded them to return to the siege; they were not, however, able to achieve anything more, since they had no siege engines. As a result, the army broke up into winter quarters, but strong garrisons were left in the nearby fortresses to prevent Persians from slipping by and entering the city.

And when the army had assembled in the following summer and the Persians had made an expedition, there was a fierce fight near Martyropolis. Although Philippicus had the upper hand and many Persians fell and one hero had been overcome, a significant body of Persians broke through into the city, which indeed had been their particular objective.[56] As a result the Romans despaired of besieging the city – for they could not bring it to submission by force – and they established another city seven stades away towards the **[233]** mountainous and more secure regions, so that they could make various preparations and

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replaced by Comentiolus even before the first winter: vi.15 with n. 58 below). See also Whitby, *Maurice* 289.

55 Evagrius' reference here to the shortage of proper equipment is very mild, in contrast to the criticism of Justin's military preparations at v.8; Evagrius was concerned to excuse Philippicus for his failure in the siege, but without suggesting that Maurice was organizing the war badly. In Theophylact's narrative the eastern army possessed effective siege equipment in 586 and 587, so that the alleged lack of it in 589 is surprising.

56 This is still the same year, 589. Theophylact (iii.6.3) records the death of the Persian commander, Mahbodh, but bluntly states that the Persians were victorious, which is probably correct. Michael the Syrian, x.21, II. p. 360, reports severe Persian losses, and the battle was clearly fiercely fought, but even Evagrius does not conceal the fact that the Persians achieved their main objective.

counter-attacks. They did this during the summer, but broke camp in winter.[57]

15 As successor in command Comentiolus was sent, a Thracian by race. He engaged the Persians most fiercely, and came close to losing his life when he was thrown together with his horse, if one of his bodyguards had not mounted him on one of the spare horses and conducted him out of the battle. The survivors then fled headlong, after losing all their leaders, and reached safety at Nisibis.[58] Being afraid to return to their own king, for he had threatened them with death if they did not keep their leaders safe, they plotted usurpation against Hormisdas since the Persian general Varam was already planning this together with his men, after his return from the engagement with the Turks.[59] In the meantime Comentiolus, while blockading Martyropolis, left most of his men there but with a few chosen on merit he dashed against Okbas, a very strong fortress which is located on a steep crag on the further bank opposite Martyropolis, from where indeed the whole city was visible: he besieged it, left nothing untried, threw down part of the wall with catapults,

57 Before the Romans broke camp for the winter, now under the command of Comentiolus, they managed to capture the Persian fortress of Akbas (Theophylact iv.2.1), which was located quite close to Martyropolis, on the banks of the Nymphius river; this may be the new base camp to which Evagrius refers here, though he records the capture of Akbas in the following chapter.

58 In contrast to their respective treatment of events at Martyropolis, Evagrius' account is here to be preferred on points of detail to that of Theophylact (iii.6.1–4), which is distorted by praise of Heraclius, the father of the emperor (see Whitby, *Maurice* 232, 290). On Comentiolus, see *PLRE* III. 321–5, *s.v.* Comentiolus 1. This successful battle against the Persians was fought at Sisarbanon, to the east of Nisibis. For the term 'spare horse', cf. n. 17 above.

59 Vahram Tchobin had conducted several campaigns against the Turks in the late 580s, which culminated in a great victory which freed the Persians from the need to pay peace money to their neighbours on their north-eastern border. A dispute had arisen, however, between Vahram and King Hormizd about the apportionment of the booty, and the quarrel was compounded when Vahram was defeated by the Romans in an engagement in Lazica in 589: it appears that while returning from his Turkish campaign, Vahram had encountered a party of Iberian raiders in Azerbaijan, chased these back towards Lazica, but then been worsted in battle. Recriminations between king and general became more bitter, and Vahram persuaded his army to rebel against the unpopular Hormizd. It was their knowledge of Hormizd's reaction to military failure, rather than to the specific deaths of their leaders, which persuaded the survivors of the Persian army at Nisibis to agree to join Vahram. See Whitby, *Maurice* 290–1.

gained entry over this, and captured the fortress by force.[60] As a result, the Persians thereafter despaired of the situation at Martyropolis.

16 While these matters were in progress the Persians made away with Hormisdas, who had been the most wicked of kings since he penalized his subjects not only with fines but with diverse types of death.[61]

17 After him they installed as king his son Chosroes, against whom Varam campaigned with his men. Chosroes confronted him with **[234]** an insufficient force and fled as he saw his own men deserting.[62] He arrived at Circesium after calling, as he himself says, upon the God of the Christians that his horse should set off for wherever it might be directed by Him. He arrived together with his wives and two newly born children and certain Persian noblemen, who had voluntarily accompanied him; from there he sent an embassy to the emperor Maurice.[63] The latter, devising the most excellent plan even in this matter, and from this taking the measure of the uncertainty and changeability of life and the sudden variations and about-turns of human existence, accepted the petition and made him a guest instead of a fugitive, and a son instead of a runaway, by

60 Cf. n. 57 above; the fort had probably been captured once before by the Romans, in 583, when they slighted the fortifications, and was perhaps then recovered by the Persians during the Roman mutiny in 588.

61 For Hormizd's bad reputation, cf. Theophylact iii.17.1; Tabari, pp. 267ff; *Anon. Guidi* 1. In the late autumn and winter of 589, Hormizd had tried to organize forces to oppose Vahram in northern Mesopotamia, but these troops also went over to the rebels. In early February there were disturbances in Ctesiphon, and prisoners were released from the gaols, including Vindoe, a maternal uncle of Khusro II. On 6 February Vindoe forcibly removed Hormizd from the throne and denounced the king's avarice, violence and injustice: Theophylact iv.2.5–4.18, and for discussion, see Whitby, *Maurice* 292–5.

62 Khusro II was crowned on 15 February, and had to confront Vahram, who maintained his rebellion in spite of the change of monarch, outside Ctesiphon on 20 February; there was a night battle on 28 February, and Khusro fled the next day. Narrative in Theophylact iv.7.1–9.11.

63 The story of Khusro's appeal to the Christian God is also recorded in Theophylact iv.10.2–3. In the desperate circumstances of Khusro's flight, such indecision is unlikely, and there are indications that Khusro had been making preparations to approach the Romans, since he attempted to persuade the Nestorian Catholicus to accompany him; see Whitby, *Maurice* 295–7. The most prominent nobles to follow him into exile were his maternal uncles, Vistam and Vindoe, although the latter permitted himself to be captured in order to delay the close pursuit by Vahram's men. At Circesium, Khusro was welcomed by the Roman commander Probus, who reported developments to Comentiolus at Hierapolis, and then to Maurice.

welcoming him with imperial gifts. Not only did he make preparations for and entertain them in royal fashion, but the empress also did the same for the consorts of Chosroes and their children to his children.[64]

18 He also sent a complete imperial bodyguard and the whole Roman army together with their general to follow him wherever he wished, and for his greater honour Domitian Bishop of Melitene, a relative of his, an intelligent and shrewd man, most particularly capable in word and deed and most energetic in the greatest of affairs.[65] He also sent Gregory, who astonished Chosroes in all things, conversation, gift-giving, and proposing what was opportune for events.[66]

19 After coming as far as the city of the Hierapolitans, the chief place of Euphratesia, Chosroes again turned back, since Maurice had made this decision and paid more attention to what was advantageous to his suppliant than to his personal reputation.[67] He welcomed him with

64 Khusro's initial appeal is recorded *verbatim* by Theophylact iv.11; this focused on the need for the two civilized kingdoms of the world to offer each other mutual assistance in the variable sequence of human affairs, and Khusro made plain his subordinate position by presenting himself as a son and suppliant. Maurice responded favourably and Khusro was honourably welcomed, but it was some time before Maurice committed himself to offering full support for Khusro's return.

65 Khusro had moved from Circesium to Hierapolis, where he was hospitably entertained by the Roman commander, Comentiolus. In due course, however, Khusro began to become impatient that no visible commitment to support for his return had been made by Maurice, and he contemplated travelling to Constantinople to present his case. Maurice dissuaded him from this journey, but an embassy was sent to underline Khusro's requests. This was probably received at Constantinople in summer 590 and it was only after some debate, in which the patriarch John Nesteutes argued the opposite view, that Maurice decided to lend military assistance to Khusro. It was at this point that Bishop Domitian, who was probably Maurice's nephew (*PLRE* III. 411; see also Honigmann, *Studies* 217–25), was deputed, along with Gregory of Antioch, to accompany Khusro; Khusro had dropped hints about his interest in Christianity, and there was a hope that he could be converted. See Whitby, *Maurice* 297–300.

After his restoration, Khusro asked Maurice for a bodyguard, and Maurice supplied him with 1,000 men (Theophylact v.11.9).

The brief character sketch of Domitian combines two of the qualities attributed to Gregory of Antioch (energy and capability: cf. v.6), and two of those possessed by Maurice (intelligence and shrewdness: v.19).

66 Another echo of the eulogy of Gregory at v. 6.

67 Cf. n. 65 above. Maurice had justified his decision that Khusro should not travel further than Hierapolis on the grounds that he must remain near the frontier to prevent Vahram from consolidating his position in Persia.

great sums of money, such as have never been recorded before. And after enrolling Persians and providing all the expenses from his own resources, he dispatched Chosroes across the frontier with both armies, one Roman and one Persian, once Martyropolis and Sittas had been handed over to him; Sittas was stoned and impaled by the people of Martyropolis. **[235]** Dara was also handed over by the Persians, who withdrew from it.[68] And after Varam had been overcome in a single engagement by the Romans alone, and had ingloriously fled by himself, Chosroes was returned to his own kingdom.[69]

20 At that time, indeed, Golinduch the martyr was living among us; she had endured martyrdom through many travails when the Persian *magi* had tortured her, and she became the worker of great miracles. Stephen the former bishop of the Hierapolitans has written her life.[70]

68 The expedition to restore Khusro, which comprised an army in Armenia as well the main force in upper Mesopotamia, did not cross the frontier until spring 591, an indication of the length of preparations. Shortly before the departure, Maurice had responded to a request from Khusro by providing him with a substantial loan: Theophylact v.2.5–6. As part of the price for Roman support, Khusro had to agree to the surrender of Martyropolis and Dara; for some time the defenders of Martyropolis disregarded Khusro's instructions, presumably because Vahram promised rewards for loyalty to him, but the Persians eventually handed the city over, perhaps in February 591. According to Theophylact, the traitor Sittas was taken with the other captives to the royal camp near Nisibis, where Comentiolus had him publicly tortured and burnt. Discussion in Whitby, *Maurice* 297–300.

69 Vahram avoided a confrontation with Khusro's combined army in Mesopotamia; he withdrew eastwards through the Zagros Mountains to Azerbaijan, attempting to fight his opponents before their different contingents united; this plan failed, and he then continued his retreat east, probably in the hope of obtaining help from the Turks, but was brought to battle on the plain of Canzak in late summer 591. The Roman contingent played a major part in the successful campaign, though Evagrius has underestimated the Persian contribution. Discussion in Whitby, *Maurice* 302–4.

70 Golinduch was a noble Persian convert to Christianity, who was imprisoned for her belief after interrogation by Zoroastrian priests (*magi*); after a miraculous release, or escape from execution (though according to the *Life* she insisted on having her head cut off), she found sanctuary in the Roman empire and resided at Hierapolis; while there she made various predictions to Bishop Domitian about an embassy he was undertaking to Persia, and then to the exiled King Khusro. She died on 13 July 591.

Two separate versions of her *Life* survive, a Greek text composed by Eustratius in 602, and a Georgian version which has been identified by Garitte ('Passion') as a translation of the account by Stephen of Hierapolis (who probably wrote in Syriac). Theophylact too includes an account of Golinduch, much longer than that of Evagrius, immediately after his record of Khusro's restoration (v.12). Discussion in Whitby, *Maurice* 236–7, and for somewhat different conclusions on the interaction of the sources, see Olajos, *Théophylacte* 67–82.

21 When Chosroes became master of his own kingdom, he sent to Gregory a cross that was bedecked with much gold and costly stones, to honour the prize-winning martyr Sergius. Theodora, the wife of Justinian, had dedicated this, but Chosroes had looted it along with the other treasures, as has already been recorded by me. He also sent another golden cross, and Chosroes inscribed the following on the cross in Greek letters:[71]

> This cross do I give, I Chosroes, king of kings, son of Chosroes,[72] after we had come to Romania as a result of the devilish activity and wickedness of the most ill-fated Barames Gusnas and the cavalrymen with him, on account of the approach towards Nisibis of the ill-fated Zadespram with an army for the seduction of the cavalrymen in the district of Nisibis to rebellion and commotion; we too sent cavalrymen with an officer to Charcas;[73] and through the fortune of the holy Sergius, the all-revered and renowned, when we heard that he was a granter of requests, in the first year of our reign, on the seventh of the month January, we requested, that if **[236]** our cavalrymen should slay or overcome Zadespram, we would send a gold bejewelled cross to his house on account of his all-revered name; and on the ninth of the month February they brought to us the head of Zadespram; and so, having achieved our request, so that each thing is beyond dispute, to his all-revered name this cross which is from us, together with the cross sent by the Roman emperor Justinian to his house, and which was conveyed here in the time of the estrangement between the two empires by Chosroes, king of kings, son of

71 The text of the dedication is also recorded, with a few minor variations, by Theophylact v.13.4–6, although he regarded Khusro's message as a letter rather than an inscribed text. For the differences, for which the plausible explanation is that Evagrius copied the actual inscriptions whereas Theophylact relied on a written version sent to Constantinople, see Allen, *Evagrius* 259–61, who summarizes the debate between M. J. Higgins (*BZ* 48 [1955] 89–102) and P. Peeters (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres* 44 [1960] 99–119); also Elizabeth Fowden, *Plain* 133–40. For Khusro I's attack on Sergiopolis (Resafa) in 542 and the capture of Justinian's cross, see Evagrius iv.28.

72 Khusro II was son of Hormizd and grandson of Khusro I; he deliberately ignores his unpopular father.

73 This refers to an incident in January 591, when Vahram dispatched a supporter called Zatsparham in an attempt to secure the loyalty of the troops at Nisibis, whom Khusro had been courting (Theophylact v.1). This created a crisis for Khusro but, after appealing for Sergius' help, he managed to prevent Zatsparham from reaching the city.

> Cabades, our father, and which was discovered in our treasuries, we have sent to the house of the holy all-revered Sergius.

And on the decision of the emperor Maurice, Gregory took these and dedicated them with great ceremony in the sacred house of the martyr.[74] Not long after Chosroes also sent other gifts to the said sacred shrine, after inscribing the following in the Greek tongue on a paten made of gold:[75]

> I Chosroes, king of kings, son of Chosroes, have written what is on this paten not for the sight of men, nor that the greatness of your all-revered name may be known from my words, but on account of the truth of what is written and on account of the many favours and benefactions which I had from you: for it is good fortune for me that my name should be carried on your holy vessels. During the time that I was in Beramais,[76] I requested of you, holy one, that you come to my assistance and that Siren conceive in her womb. And since Siren is Christian and I a pagan, our **[237]** law does not grant us freedom to have a Christian wife. But, on account of my gratitude to you, I disregarded this law, and this one among my wives I held and hold from day to day as legitimate, and thus I decided to beseech your goodness, holy one, that she conceive in her womb.[77] And I requested and

74 Sergiopolis was an important, but also sensitive site (see Elizabeth Fowden, *Plain* ch. 3), not least because it was a religious centre for the Ghassanid Arabs, whose attachment to the Romans had been affected by the arrests of their leaders al-Mundhir and Numan (cf. vi.2). The consultation with Maurice ensured that the dedications were made by the Chalcedonian hierarchy, as Elizabeth Fowden rightly observes (*Plain* 139), though I am less convinced by her suggestion that Khusro was deliberately taking over Justinian and Theodora's place as imperial patron of the shrine: such a challenge to the Roman emperor seems unlikely at this stage of his reign, and Maurice probably consented to the dedication precisely because it demonstrated Sasanid acceptance of the power of the Christian God.

75 Theophylact also records the text of this dedication, again with minor variants (v.14); he suggests that there was a rather longer gap between the donations, since he dates the request, 'in the third year', which points to 593/4 if counted inclusively from Khusro's return, or 592 if it represents Khusro's regnal year.

76 I.e. Beth Aramaye, the area of Lower Mesopotamia where the royal capitals were located.

77 Shirin, a Christian from Khuzistan, remained Khusro's favourite wife, and she and her eldest son Merdanshah were among the casualties in the palace coup which overthrew Khusro II in 628. Another miracle about conception by Shirin is recorded in *Anon. Guidi* 8, where she gives birth to Merdanshah after Gabriel of Sinjar, a Christian doctor at court,

ordained that if Siren should conceive in her womb I would send to your all-revered shrine the cross worn by her. And on this account both I and Siren have this purpose, that we should have possession of this cross in remembrance of your name, holy one. And instead of it we have resolved to dispatch as its value 5,000 staters, although it does not extend beyond 4,400 miliary staters.[78]

And from the time when I had the said request in my mind and made this resolution until the time we came to Rhesonchosron[79] no more than ten days elapsed, and you, holy one, not because I am worthy but because of your goodness, you appeared to me in a dream at night and thrice said to me that Siren had conceived in her womb. And in the same dream I thrice responded to you saying: "Good". And because you are the granter of requests, from that day Siren did not know what is customary for women. But I had doubts about this, but for the fact that I trusted in your words and that you are holy and a granter of requests, after she did not experience what women do, from this I knew the power of the dream and the truth of what you had spoken. And so straightaway I sent the said cross and its value to your all-revered house,[80] ordering that from its value one paten and **[238]** one chalice should be made for the sake of the divine mysteries, but indeed also that a cross be made which should be fixed on the honoured altar, and a censer all of gold, and a Hunnic curtain decorated with gold; and the *miliaresia* left over from this sum are for your holy house, so that through your fortune, holy one, in all things but especially in this request, you may come to the aid of myself and Siren, and that what has come to us through your intercession may proceed to completion through the mercy of your goodness and for the wish of myself and Siren; so that I and

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had let blood from her arm. Khusro had a second Christian wife, known as Maria the Roman.

78 The Roman silver coin, the *miliarensis* (the word used later in the inscription at p. 238:5) had fallen out of use in the fifth century, whereas Persians still used silver. Khusro presumably was calculating in dirhams, the standard Persian coin.

79 A Persian royal palace near the Diyala river.

80 In the previous paragraph it appeared that Khusro and Shirin intended to retain the cross and substitute a greater monetary compensation, but here it seems that both the cross and the money are being sent.

> Siren and everyone in the world may have hope in your power and still trust in you.

This is what Chosroes' dedications say, in no way discordant with the prophecy of Barlaam,[81] since the merciful God has wisely provided that heathen tongues should utter words of salvation.

22 At that time too Naaman, the tribal leader of the enemy Scenites, a most abominable and totally polluted heathen, to the extent even of sacrificing men to his demons with his own hand, approached for holy baptism, after melting down in a fire a golden Aphrodite, which was in truth created matter, distributing this to the beggars, and bringing all his followers to God.[82] But Gregory, after donating Chosroes' crosses,[83] with the approval of the emperor travelled round the deserts of what is called the Limites where the doctrines of Severus are particularly prevalent, expounded the doctrines of the Church, and brought into the Church of God many fortresses and villages and monasteries and whole tribes.[84]

81 Numbers 22–4: Balaam was an eastern prophet summmoned by the Moabite king to curse the Israelites, but he found himself constrained to pronounce a blessing.

82 The Lakhmid leader Numan (580–602) was known for his devotion to idols (*Chron. Seert* p. 468); his father, al-Mundhir, was said by Procopius (*Wars* ii.28.13) to have sacrificed the son of his enemy, the Ghassanid al-Harith, to his divinity al-Uzza (Aphrodite). Numan was on bad terms with Khusro II after refusing to accompany his journey into exile, and he was eventually put to death by him.

83 Gregory dedicated the first crosses in late 591 or early 592 (Allen, *Evagrius* 264, plausibly suggested 7 October 591, the saint's feast day), depending on how long it took Khusro to identify the cross of Justinian and Theodora and Maurice to approve the dedication. Gregory died in mid-592, and the second cross and the money for other altar furnishings could not have arrived before that.

84 Establishment of peace in the East made this an opportune moment to try again to reunite the Church: the prestige of the emperor was high, the patriarch could safely visit the frontier regions, there was no danger that religious coercion would disrupt the empire's defences, and the Ghassanid Arabs, staunch supporters of Monophysites, had less influence since their military services were not currently in demand. This is Evagrius' only reference to contemporary Monophysites, who are labelled as followers of Patriarch Severus of Antioch, and it is a moot point whether he has deliberately concealed the existence of this major rift in the Church (Allen, *Evagrius* 42–4, 243), or whether from his personal perspective of the city of Antioch and the province of Second Syria (a Chalcedonian region) the Monophysite issue was not quite as pressing as modern commentators assume (cf. Introduction, pp. xl–xlvii). Domitian of Melitene was given imperial permission to mount a campaign against Monophysites in 598/9, which supposedly led to 400 martyrdoms outside the walls of Edessa (Michael the Syrian x.23, II. pp. 372–3).

For the sense of *limes/limites* as a frontier region, see Isaac, 'Meaning' 132–8.

23 During this time Symeon, who is among the saints, fell mortally ill and, after I had passed on the news of this, **[239]** Gregory rushed to salute him for the last time; but he did not succeed.[85] Of all men in his time Symeon was the most exceptional for virtue, since from his tenderest youth he had pursued the life on a column, so that he had even acquired his second teeth on his station on the column.

He was elevated onto the column in the following way. While he was still extremely young in age, he was wandering around the peaks of the mountains, roaming about and playing like a child. And on encountering a wild leopard he put his belt around its neck, and with this bridle he led it, forgetful of its real nature, and brought it to his own monastery. When his teacher, who was himself standing on a column, saw this, he enquired what this was, and he said it was a feline which is customarily called a cat. Inferring from this how great his virtue would be, he brought him up onto the column.[86] On this column, and on another one on the very topmost summit of the mountain, he spent 68 years, being deemed worthy of every grace in respect of the expulsion of demons, and curing every disease and every sickness, and foreseeing the future just like the present.[87] He actually predicted to Gregory that he would not see his death, but that he was ignorant of matters after that.

He saw my thoughts about the loss of my children, and that I was perplexed as to why this had never happened to pagans with many children; even though I had never expressed any of this to anyone, he wrote that I should distance myself from these thoughts, as it was displeasing

85 Symeon Stylites the Younger died on 24 May 592.

86 The *Life* of Symeon the Younger has a rather different account (chs. 7–15). When Symeon was aged five, his father perished in the Antioch earthquake of 526; thereafter he was led by the vision of a man in white towards Seleucia and, on a mountain, he found a small monastery under the leadership of a stylite named John; Symeon's austerity and the signs of his wisdom impressed John, and at the age of six Symeon performed his first miracle; at the age of seven, i.e. in 528, Symeon mounted a column placed next to that of John. For full discussion of his life, and the evidence for it, see Van den Ven, *Syméon*. For the physical remains on the Miraculous Mountain, see Djobadze, *Antioch* ch. 2. For another feline miracle, see n. 90 below.

87 Symeon spent six years on his first column, then a further eight years on a much taller column at the same monastery. At the age of 20, i.e. in 541, he decided to move to the top of the Miraculous Mountain, where a major monastic complex grew up around his column. If the evidence of the *Life* is right, that he first ascended a column about two years after the earthquake of 526, then he only spent 64 years on a column.

to God.[88] And with regard to the wife of one of my secretaries, when her milk was obstructed after she had given birth and the infant was in extreme danger, he placed his hand on the husband's right hand and enjoined him to place this on his wife's breasts. When he had done this, at once the milk sprang forth as if from a spring, so that the wife's dress was soaked.

And when a child had been forgotten late at night by a group of travellers, a lion put it on its back **[240]** and brought it to the Enclosure,[89] and on Symeon's instructions the attendants went out and brought in the child, which had been protected by the lion.[90] He has done many other things as well which surpass recollection, which require an elegant tongue and time and a separate treatise, since they are celebrated on the tongues of men.[91] For people from nearly every land, not only Romans but also barbarians, visited him and obtained what they requested. For him the branches of a bush which grew upon the mountain took the place of all food and drink.[92]

24 Shortly after Gregory too passed away: he was afflicted by the ailment of gout, by which he was particularly troubled, and had drunk a medicine composed of what is called Hermodactylus that had been supplied by one of the Asclepiades.[93] He perished when Gregory, who succeeded Pelagius, was bishop of elder Rome, John of New Rome,

88 This miracle is also recorded at *Life* ch. 233, where Evagrius is said to have had a specific inhabitant of Epiphania in mind. There are several instances in Barsanuphius' *Questions and Answers*, where the old man divines the problem afflicting his interlocutor (31, 44).

89 The name of Symeon's sacred space copies that of Symeon the Elder: cf. i.14 with n. 138 above.

90 At *Life* ch. 68 there is a different lion miracle: by speaking Symeon's name a man was saved from an attacking lion; subsequently Symeon ordered the animal to leave the Miraculous Mountain, although it occasionally returned to visit his monastery, without ever harming anyone; for another lion miracle, cf. iv.7 with n. 24 above.

91 Evagrius is clearly writing before the composition of Symeon's *Life*.

92 As a young boy, Symeon had prayed to be spared the need to depend on mortal food (*Life* ch. 47), and in old age he told his disciples that he existed on a weekly delivery of divine sustenance which appeared after the celebration of communion (*Life* ch. 256).

93 I.e. physicians. The exact date in 592 of Gregory's death is not known.

Elizabeth Fowden has suggested (*Plain* 136) that the final chapters of Evagrius' work focus on 'important participants in the political life of the frontier zone'. I am not convinced: the unifying themes seem to be the achievements of Patriarch Gregory and the demonstration, through the traditional fare of ecclesiastical historiography, that God still fully supported the Roman empire.

Eulogius of the city Alexander, as has been said by me, Anastasius of the city of the Theopolitans, since he had been returned to his own see after 23 years, and John of Jerusalem; soon afterwards the last died and nobody has yet been entrusted with the rudders there.[94]

At this point let my history be terminated, in the twelfth year of Maurice Tiberius' direction of the Roman empire,[95] with subsequent events being left for those who wish to collect and record them. If anything has been omitted or inaccurately reported, let no one reproach me with blame, taking into account the fact that I have collected a scattered narrative, undertaking the task for the benefit of mankind, on whose account indeed we have endured such labours. There has been prepared by me another volume, which contains reports, letters, decrees, speeches, discussions and other similar matters; almost all the reports contained in it were composed in the name of Gregory of Theopolis. As a result of these works I also obtained two honours, since Tiberius Constantine **[241]** invested me with the rank of *quaestor*, and Maurice Tiberius sent me prefectural diptychs for what we composed at the time when he freed the empire from the disgrace and brought Theodosius into the light, providing a foretaste of every happiness for himself and for the state.[96]

Of Evagrius of Epiphania, *scholasticus* and ex-prefect, six books of *Ecclesiastical History*.

94 The synchronism begins with the patriarchs in post at the moment of Gregory's death, Pope Gregory at Rome (590–604), John Nesteutes at Constantinople (582–95) and Eulogius at Alexandria (580–608), who had been mentioned at v.16. But Evagrius then moves forward to Gregory's successor at Antioch, where Anastasius was returned to the see on 25 March 593, and to Jerusalem, where John died in 594, to be succeeded later that year by Amos.

95 August 593–4.

96 Evagrius' volume of documents might have resembled the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, documents composed in the name of Theoderic and the other Ostrogothic rulers whom he had served. Official positions and ranks were granted by means of imperial codicils (see Jones, *LRE* 530), which were regularly described by means of the grade which they conferred: hence 'prefectural diptychs' was the imperial message which granted Evagrius the honorary rank of prefect.

Theodosius was born on 4 August 584, occasioning great rejoicing (John of Ephesus, *EH* v.14). No emperor since Arcadius had produced a son to succeed to the throne, with the partial exception of the short-lived Leo II (born to Zeno before the death of Leo I); there was a Monophysite belief that emperors were being punished for their support for Chalcedon by being unable to produce a male heir (e.g. *Letters of Severus* 55, a posthumous prophecy by the monk Nisthora; John of Nikiu 116). Maurice had four other sons, Tiberius, Peter, Justin and Justinian; all perished with Maurice in 602.

APPENDIX I

BISHOPS OF THE MAIN EASTERN SEES AND OF ROME (*C.* 430–600)[1]

Constantinople	
Nestorius	428–31
Maximian	431–4
Proclus	434–47
Flavian	447–9
Anatolius	449–58
Gennadius	458–71
Acacius	472–89
Fravita	490
Euphemius	490–6
Macedonius II	496–511
Timothy	511–18
John II	518–20
Epiphanius	520–35
Anthimus	535–6
Menas	536–52
Eutychius	552–65, 577–82
John III *scholasticus* (of Sirmium)	565–77
John IV Nesteutes	582–95
Alexandria	
Cyril	412–44
Dioscorus	444–51
Proterius	451–7
Timothy II Aelurus	457–60, 475–7
Timothy III Salophaciolus	460–75, 477–82
Peter Mongus	477, 482–9
John I Talaia	482
Athanasius II	489–96

1 For complete lists of all the major sees, see Grumel, *Chronologie* 430–53.

John II	496–505
John III (of Nikiu)	505–16
Dioscorus II	516–17
Timothy IV	517–35
Theodosius	535–7
Gaianus	535
Paul the Tabennesiot	537–40
Zoilus	540–51
Apollinarius	551–70
John IV	570–80
Eulogius	580–608

Antioch

John	428–441
Domnus	442–9
Maximus	450–5
Basil	456–8
Acacius	458–9
Martyrius	459–70
Peter the Fuller	469–70, 470/1, 475–7, 485–9
Julian	471–5
John II Codonatus	477
Stephen II	477–9
Calandion	479–84
Palladius	490–8
Flavian II	498–512
Severus	512–18
Paul II the Jew	519–21
Euphrasius	521–6
Ephrem of Amida	527–45
Domninus	545–59
Anastasius	559–70, 593–8
Gregory	570–92

Jerusalem

Juvenal	422–58
Theodosius	451–7
Anastasius	458–78
Martyrius	478–86

Salustius	486–94
Elias	494–516
John III	516–24
Peter	524–52
Macarius	552, 564–75
Eustochius	552–63
John IV	574–94
Amos	594–601

Rome

Celestine	422–32
Sixtus III	432–40
Leo	440–61
Hilary	461–8
Simplicius	468–83
Felix III	483–92
Gelasius	492–6
Anastasius II	496–8
Symmachus	498–514
Hormisdas	514–23
John I	523–6
Felix IV	526–30
Boniface II	530–2
John II	533–5
Agapetus	535–6
Silverius	536–7
Vigilius	537–55
Pelagius I	555–61
John III Catelinus	561–74
Benedict	575–9
Pelagius II	579–90
Gregory	590–604

APPENDIX II

THE IMAGE OF EDESSA

Although it is generally accepted that Evagrius is the first author to mention the miraculous image of Christ at Edessa, a radical challenge to this orthodoxy has been mounted by Chrysostomides.[1] Chrysostomides argues that the allusion to the icon was introduced into Evagrius' text in the eighth century, in the context of the iconoclast dispute: Evagrius' account of the icon was read out at the Ecumenical Council of 787, when a copy of the text presented to the Council by the monk Stephen had this passage erased, although George, abbot of the monastery of Hyacinthus, fortunately happened to possess a complete text.[2] According to Chrysostomides, Stephen's text represented the genuine Evagrius whereas that of George had been adapted for its current purpose. Thus, far from being an important example of the development of the cult of icons in the sixth century and of the role of Christianity in defending the empire's frontiers, the story of the icon would be an instance, equally interesting, of the fabrication of material during the Iconoclast Dispute. There are, however, several problems in Chrysostomides' analysis.

(1) The closeness of Evagrius' account to Procopius is overstated. In fact, Evagrius conflated the Procopian account of events in 540, when Abgar's letter proved its worth, with the major siege of 544.[3] Evagrius transformed the siege mound into the centrepiece of his presentation, a substantial simplification of the more extended narrative in Procopius, but a change which deliberately focused attention on the miraculous nature of its destruction. Procopius recorded two miracles with regard to the 540 attack (Khusro lost his way and suffered a headache: *Wars* ii.12.32–3), but nothing miraculous about the burning of the mound in 544. Evagrius had a different story to tell, and so ignored the events of 540 to focus on the greater wonders in 544.

1 'Investigation' xxiv–xxviii; I am indebted to Chrysostomides for the opportunity to consider her arguments in advance of publication.

2 Mansi, *Collectio* XIII. 189D–192C.

3 Chrysostomides, 'Investigation' xxv, does not notice this conflation.

(2) Chrysostomides alleges a gross contradiction in the description of the igniting of the mound: the timbers are said to have been reduced to ashes (p. 175:15–16), but then the Evagrian narrative switches back to the Procopian account in which the mound only gradually catches fire and the defenders have to prevent the Persians from realizing what is happening.[4] This objection can be evaded by clarifying what was probably happening underneath the mound. The defenders constructed a long tunnel with a sizeable burning chamber at its end, whose roof was supported on timbers to prevent the mound collapsing prematurely, and the inside of the mine was filled with a variety of combustible material: this is clear in Procopius (*Wars* ii.27.4), but has been obscured in Evagrius' abbreviation of his source. There were then problems in igniting the material, which Procopius admits (*Wars* ii.27.7); Evagrius had more exciting information about this development and so departed from Procopius' story. After the intervention of the icon it was the material introduced by the defenders and those few Persian timbers in the immediate vicinity which were rapidly reduced to ashes; this generated enough heat to initiate the much more gradual process whereby the fire ate its way through the rest of the Persian mound above (where the binding timbers would gradually be burnt away). Experience of burning turves on a garden bonfire would suggest that Evagrius has accurately described two distinct stages, an initial blaze deep inside the mound followed by a slower smouldering process; on the other hand, the process of combining Procopius with his own miraculous story has led to some lack of clarity in exactly what was being burnt, and when.

(3) Evagrius does not cite his source for the story of the icon. Evagrius often, though not invariably, cites his written sources, especially if he is paraphrasing their material or disagrees with their presentation, but he is much more haphazard with regard to oral material. In the very next chapter (iv.28) he does not cite his source for the miracle at Sergiopolis, which secured for that city a comparable delivery from Khusro's attentions. So, the lack of a citation for the *acheiropoietos* story is not 'contrary to his usual habit'.[5] In fact Evagrius does suggest that he has his own information to present about Edessa, since, after referring to

4 'Investigation' xxvi.
5 Chrysostomides, 'Investigation' xxi.

Procopius on Abgar's letter, he states: 'But I will tell you what happened' (p. 174:19), a formula which can indicate a change of source.[6]

(4) The miraculous icon is not mentioned by Procopius, nor the Syriac hymn for the inauguration of S. Sophia at Edessa, nor the Syriac *Chronicle of Edessa*. The silence of Procopius is no problem, especially if the contribution of the icon was added to the story of the heroic resistance some time after the event. The *Chronicle of Edessa*, also known as the *Chronicon ad an. 540* was compiled shortly after the Persian attack of 540 but before the siege of 544, which it naturally does not mention. If the icon was not well known, or perhaps did not even exist, before the siege of 544, this silence is of no relevance. The Syriac inaugural hymn is not decisive, since the precise date of the text is uncertain and its reference to a picture not made by human hands refers to natural patterns in the marble on the church walls.[7]

(5) Neither of the lists of chapter headings at the start of Book iv mentions the icon. This again is not a problem since the briefer set of headings (list 2) covers all the events of iv.24–8 with the entry 'Concerning the capture of Antioch and what Khusro did to Edessa and the other cities' (iv.23): it fails to mention the miraculous events at Apamea and Sergiopolis as well as the icon at Edessa. The other set of headings contains four separate entries for Khusro's campaign of 540 (including the capture of Antioch), the miracle of the Cross at Apamea, the attack on Edessa and the miracle at Sergiopolis (iv.25–8); we do not know the date of composition for either set of headings, although I regard the briefer set as earlier.[8] No firm hypotheses can be built on these headings. Thus, even if the omission of any mention of the Edessa miracle from the longer list is regarded as significant, it could be postulated that this list was drawn up to reflect the text of Evagrius as doctored by the iconoclasts in the eighth century.

There is insufficient substance to uphold Chrysostomides' attack on the integrity of Evagrius' narrative. Consideration of the broader shape of Evagrius' exploitation of Procopius in this part of Book iv also supports the conclusion that Evagrius composed this chapter around

6 Cf. iii.18 for an analogous phrase that marks a more explicit departure from his source, Zachariah; also iv.26, p. 172:29–30; iv.28, p. 176:7; iv.29, p. 177:3.

7 See Chrysostomides, 'Investigation' xxvii; Cameron, 'Iconoclasm' 38; Palmer and Rodley, 'Hymn' 128–32.

8 See the note to the Book i headings.

the miracle of the icon. Evagrius has extracted a very particular range of information from Procopius' narratives of the Vandal and Gothic wars, essentially information that has a Christian flavour. On turning to the Persian wars of the 540s, Evagrius begins with a general summary of Khusro's attack in 540, but then focuses on the fates of three cities where miracles demonstrated divine favour for the Romans and thwarted Khusro's ambitions; he is almost answering the agnostic despair of Procopius over the destruction of Antioch (*Wars* ii.10.4). In each case Evagrius is able to present significant material that is not in Procopius: his personal experiences at Apamea and the behaviour of Bishop Thomas, the achievement of the icon at Edessa and the vision which defended Sergiopolis. It is precisely because he has extra material that he devotes so much space to these cities; in the case of Edessa he actually ignores those miracles reported by Procopius as proof of the protection afforded by Christ's letter, because he has a much more dramatic miracle of his own to introduce. Without the *acheiropoietos* icon, there would be no major miracle in this chapter and the logic of the narrative construction would be undermined. This wider perspective is not considered by Chrysostomides.

Chrysostomides presents her arguments about Evagrius in the context of a study devoted to *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*. In this text of the ninth century, the fire miracle associated with the Edessa image (5b) is considerably distorted: while besieging Edessa, Khusro heaped olive wood all round the city which he ignited to create a massive blaze that threatened to engulf the inhabitants; Bishop Eulalius toured the ramparts, carrying the image, and then a miraculous blast of wind drove the flames against the Persians. This example of the malleability of hagiographic stories is interesting in its own right, but does not help to demonstrate that Evagrius' version was produced in the context of the same theological disputes.

GLOSSARY

Acacian Schism. The dispute (484–518) which divided the Eastern and Western Churches because of Patriarch Acacius' acceptance of Zeno's Henoticon, which was regarded as an insult to papal authority.

Alexandrian theology/Christology. The approach to the understanding of the person of Christ associated with the see of Alexandria, whose most important exponent was Cyril. Alexandrian Christology emphasized the divine nature of Christ and the strict unity of His person, in contrast to the rival Antiochene Christology.

Anathema. A declaration of exclusion from the Church, analogous to excommunication but somewhat stronger; equivalent to secular *damnatio memoriae* by removal of a name or names from the Diptychs.

Antiochene theology/Christology. The approach to the understanding of the person of Christ associated with the see of Antioch, whose most important exponents were Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Antiochene Christology emphasized the humanity of Christ, and described the union of divinity and humanity in His person more loosely than did the rival Alexandrian tradition. It was labelled 'Nestorian' by opponents, often unfairly.

Aphthartodocetism. The heretical theory advocated by Julian of Halicarnassus that Christ's body was incorruptible (*aphthartos*) and impassible, which Justinian espoused in 564/5.

***apocrisarius*.** Official representative, often for an absent bishop (e.g. for the pope at Constantinople, or for a provincial bishop at a Church Council).

Apollinarians. Followers of the fourth-century heretic Apollinarius, who denied the presence in Christ of a human mind or soul, thereby simplifying the union of divinity and humanity in the person of Christ but rejecting His full humanity.

Arians, neo-Arians. Followers of the fourth-century Egyptian heresiarch, Arius, who had denied the full divinity of Christ by arguing that He had been created by God the Father, to whom he was

therefore subordinate. This view was rejected at Nicaea in 325 in favour of the *homoousios* formula.

Chalcedonians. Supporters of the Council of Chalcedon and its formula that Christ was one person in two natures, the divine consubstantial with the Father, the human consubstantial with us.

Consubstantial. See *homoousios*.

Diptychs. Lists of names of those for whom prayers were offered during the liturgy. Public recitation of these lists demonstrated who was accepted as orthodox, so that removal or incorporation of a specific name was accepted as evidence of the doctrinal affiliation of a particular see.

Encyclical. A 'circular', letter. The term is used by Evagrius to describe certain imperial missives (Leo I's request for bishops' views; Basiliscus' doctrinal expositions), and also covers letters sent by leading churchmen, for example those from a patriarch to fellow patriarchs or from a metropolitan bishop to those within his diocese.

Eutychianist. Adherents of the Constantinopolitan abbot Eutyches who had strongly affirmed the single nature of Christ, to the extent of denying that his humanity was consubstantial with that of mankind.

Florilegium. A collection of excerpts from Scripture and earlier Christian writers, often compiled to support a particular doctrinal position.

Gaianist. A supporter of the Alexandrian patriarch Gaianas who espoused Julianist doctrines.

Henoticon. The emperor Zeno's declaration (482) of doctrinal unity (*henosis*) on the basis of the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople and the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril; it evaded the Christological question of the natures in Christ, failed to endorse the Council of Chalcedon and ignored the Tome of Leo, with the result that it generated the Acacian Schism.

homoiousios. Literally 'of similar substance', a term used by some of those who rejected the Council of Nicaea but still sought a formulation to reconcile the *homoousian* Nicene position and the range of neo-Arian views.

homoousios. Literally 'of same substance', the term used in the Nicene Creed to describe the relationship between God the Father and God the Son, with the intention of excluding the subordinationist views connected with Arius and his supporters.

hypostasis. Literally 'substance', a term whose meaning evolved during the fourth century to describe the individual reality of each member of the Trinity, whose overall unity was captured by the term *ousia*.

Julianist. Followers of Bishop Julian of Halicarnassus (early sixth century), who had espoused the Aphthartodocete doctrine of the incorruptibility of Christ's body.

Lavra. The term for a group of monks, or the buildings associated with them, who spent much of their time as solitaries (anchorites), but who subjected themselves to the control of a single abbot and might share some of their daily activities.

Macedonians. Those associated with Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople (342–62), who had supported the *homoiousian* position. The term came to be applied to Pneumatomachi, those who denied the full divinity of the Holy Spirit, even though there is no evidence to connect Macedonius himself with this heresy.

Manichees. Followers of the Persian gnostic Mani (third century), who had proclaimed a dualist view of the world as a battleground between cosmic forces of good and evil. Mani drew on the New Testament, especially Paul's Epistles, as well as various eastern traditions. His views remained attractive throughout the fourth century and into the fifth, despite repeated imperial legislation against his followers. Because it was an accepted heretical label, Manichee was also used as a term of abuse to describe doctrinal opponents.

Monophysites (also known as Miaphysites). Supporters of the doctrine, associated in particular with Egypt and the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, that the incarnate Christ the Word possessed a single nature (*mia physis*) which was drawn from the two elements of divinity and humanity.

Neo-Arians/Semi-Arians. Labels used to brand a variety of doctrinal positions, for example the *homoiousian*, which sought to adapt the Nicene definition of consubstantiality to admit the subordinate status of God the Son.

Neo-Chalcedonians. Supporters of Chalcedon who, during the sixth century, attempted to adapt its decisions and formulations to accommodate more fully the doctrinal views of Cyril of Alexandria, especially with regard to the one incarnate nature of God the Word, with a view to reconciling Monophysites and reuniting the Eastern Church.

Nestorians. Followers of Nestorius who had been deposed after the First Council of Ephesus (431) because he rejected the term Theotokos for the Virgin Mary and opposed the views of Cyril of Alexandria. The Christology of Nestorius stressed the full humanity as well as full divinity of Christ, while also accepting the unity of His person. The term became one of abuse for opponents of Cyril, especially those who strictly espoused Antiochene Christology.

Nicene Creed/doctrine. The anti-Arian definition drawn up at the Council of Nicaea in 325 (and subsequently expanded) which stressed the equality of God the Father and God the Son through the *homoousian* formula.

oikonomos. Steward or administrator, often of ecclesiastical property.

Origenism. Views associated with alleged followers of the third-century heretic, Origen, although the Origenist theories espoused in the fifth and sixth centuries were derived from the teaching of Evagrius of Pontus and Didymus the Blind. This was another convenient term of abuse for religious opponents, especially intellectual monks who pursued theoretical enquiries too far for the liking of others.

Photinians. Followers of the subordinationist heretic Photinus (fourth century) who accepted the superhuman excellence of Christ without equating him with God the Father.

rhetor. Literally 'orator', often used as a general term to describe a person of education, sometimes with more specific reference to an ability to teach rhetoric.

scholasticus. A lawyer with the training to be a public advocate.

Severans. Followers of Severus of Antioch, who espoused the 'mainstream' Cyrillan Monophysite position (as opposed, for example, to Julianists).

skeuophylax. Treasurer.

Synodicals/synodical letters. Literally letters 'concerned with a council', hence letters connected with a Church Council; also used for a bishop's encyclical letters since, in the context in Evagrius, these would invariably have to address the conciliar issue of Chalcedon.

Theopaschite. The doctrine that, because of the unity of divinity and humanity in the incarnate Christ, God could be said to have suffered. Provided that Theopaschite language was directly applied to Christ, as in the Monophysite understanding of Peter the Fuller's addition to the Trisaghion, or to 'one of the Trinity' as in Justinian's doctrinal

edict of 534, the heresy of attributing suffering to God Himself could be avoided.

Theotokos. Mother of God, the standard title for the Virgin Mary, but disputed by those who felt that it disregarded the human element in Christ and might also lead to the treatment of the Virgin as a divinity.

Three Chapters. The convenient term for the theological initiative of Justinian in 543/4, confirmed at the Council of Constantinople in 553, which condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia, the writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus against Cyril of Alexandria and the letter to Maris attributed to Ibas of Edessa. This was one of the attempts to adapt the decisions of Chalcedon to demonstrate that it was fully consistent with the views of Cyril of Alexandria, in order to reconcile contemporary Monophysites.

Tome of Leo. The letter of Pope Leo to Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople in June 449 which expounded the Christological doctrine of the Western Church in reaction to the theories of Eutyches. The letter was endorsed at Chalcedon, so that any subsequent attempt to diminish the authority of that Council inevitably also challenged the sufficiency of Pope Leo's exposition.

Trisaghion. The refrain 'Holy God, Holy and strong, Holy and immortal, have mercy on us' chanted during the eastern liturgy. The addition 'who was crucified for us' was championed by Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch, and subsequent Monophysites who regarded the hymn as a Christological statement.

Twelve Anathemas/Chapters. A statement by Cyril of Alexandria of twelve specific doctrinal views which he prepared in 430 to demonstrate the heresy of Nestorius. They received formal approval at First Ephesus (431) but were not mentioned in the *acta* of Chalcedon (451) at the point when Cyril's letters to Nestorius were approved; this failure, which contributed to the rejection of the Council in some quarters, was rectified at the Council of Constantinople (553).

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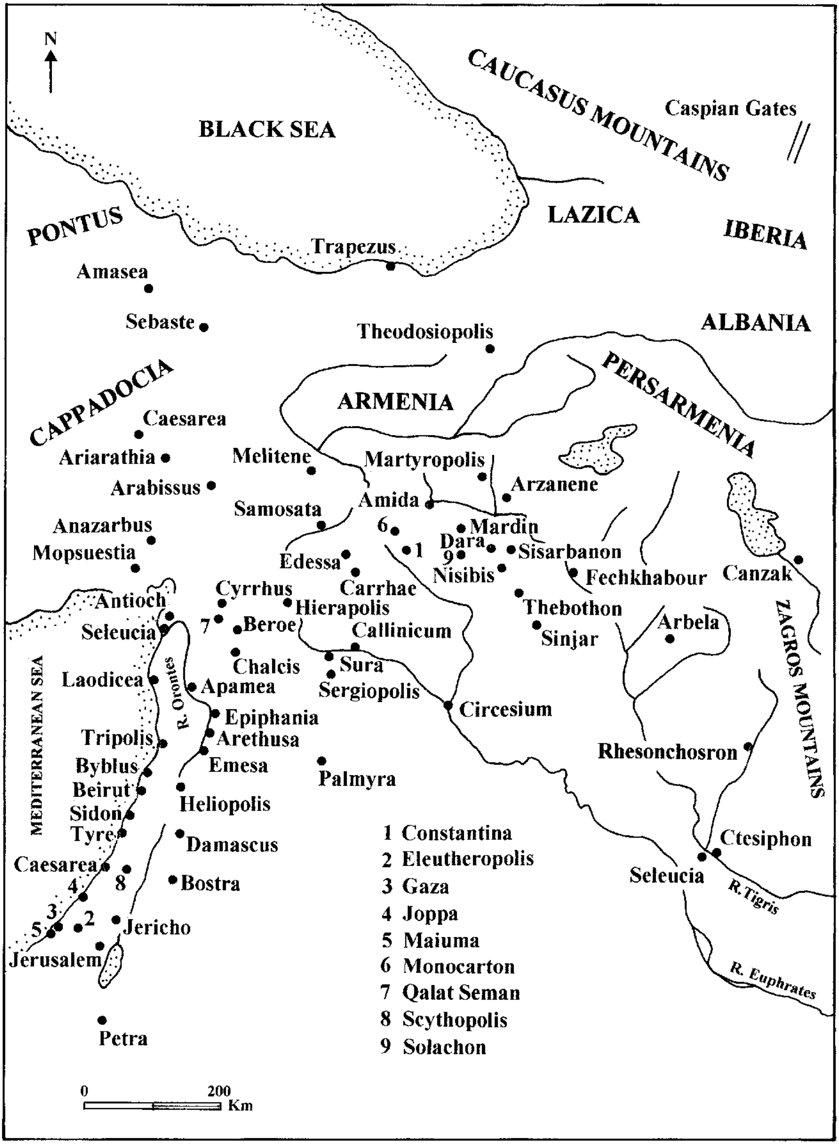
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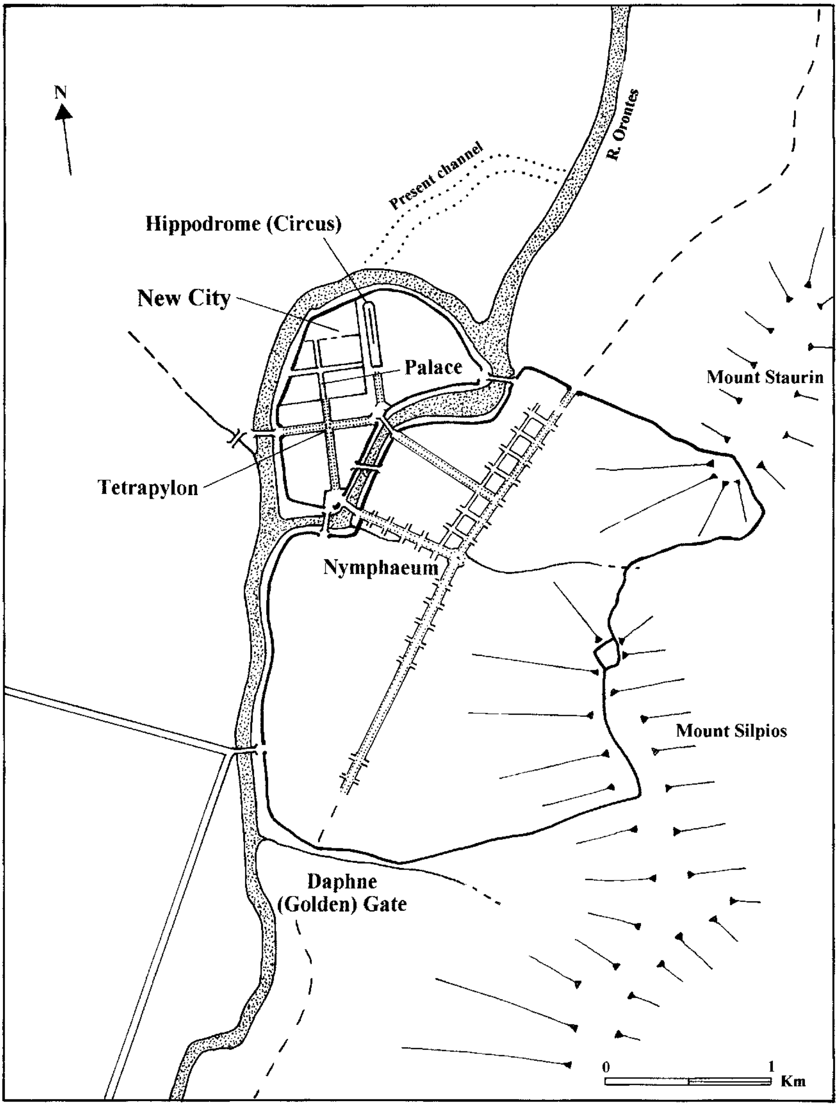
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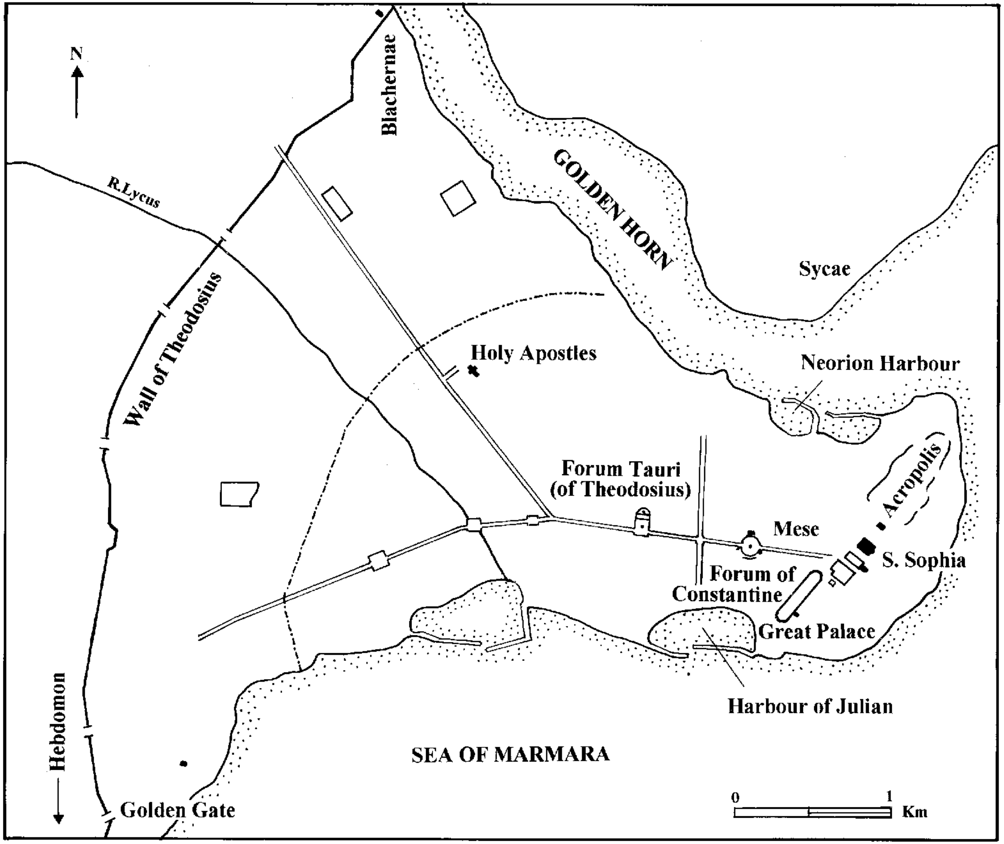
Central and Eastern Mediterranean



The Middle East


N
R. Orontes
Present channel
Hippodrome (Circus)
New City
Palace
Tetrapylon
Nymphaeum
Mount Staurin
Mount Silpios
Daphne
(Golden) Gate
0
1
Km

Antioch



Constantinople

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